

Investigating Fashion Manufacture within International Development:
Discussing intention and efficacy.

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the emerging role of fashion manufacture in the context of international development, as an example of market-led development. The role of fashion brands addressing development issues as a core tenant of their commercial operations is systematically analysed, from the perspective of both production and consumption. The research asks whether fashion manufacture can function as a valuable agent or tool within international development, and critically appraises if such practices perpetuate notions of dependency. This study is exploratory and interpretive in nature. Online discourse analysis was initially used to critically deconstruct marketing methodologies and language utilised within fifteen e-commerce platforms of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, extending the scope of prior research. Following this initial mapping, the research was furthered by undertaking seven interviews in the Spring of 2017 with leading policy professionals, development charities, trade facilitators, socially motivated garment manufactures, and several ‘sole practitioners’ operating SMEs in sub-Saharan Africa. Findings indicate a constructive and nuanced discourse amongst professional stakeholders interviewed. Consultation of development professionals, trade facilitators, and socially motivated garment manufacturers established a profitable dialogue disclosing the intent of current practitioners. This study appraises the efficacy and intent of the discourse in light of current development literature. Results suggest, however, that care must be taken in the subsequent marketing of ‘fashion for development’ products to avoid troublesome tropes concerned with neo-colonial representations of beneficiaries. In addition, the research latterly evaluates the role of consumption within development discourse.

DEDICATION

I am indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Sue Thomas for her guidance over this course of study. Your critical eye, persistent encouragement and attention to detail have been invaluable to me. It has been a privilege to share of your exceptional knowledge in fashion ethics. Thank you.

To my research participants, your contributions have been vital to the progression and ultimate summation of this thesis.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my parents, Iain and Caroline, for their unconditional support and love during the research process. My success is yours.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	
Dedication	
Declaration	
Table of Contents	i - iv
Lists of Tables and Figures	v
Glossary	vi

1. Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Research Context	p. 2
1.2. Research Aims and Objectives	p. 3
1.3. Merit and Importance of the Research	p. 3
1.4. Research Design and Methodology	p. 3 - 4
1.5. Significance	p. 4
1.6. Limitations/Scope	p. 4 - 5
1.7. Personal Interest	p. 5 - 6
1.8. Outline of Chapters	p. 6
1.9. Key Terms	p. 6 - 7
1.9.1. Fashion for Development	p. 6
1.9.2. Fashion Manufacture	p. 6
1.9.3. Global North and South	p. 7
1.9.4. Global Value Chains	p. 7
1.10. Conclusion	p. 7

2. Chapter 2: Literature Review **p. 8 - 25**

2.1. Contextualising the philosophical origins of development	p. 8
2.2. Defining International Development	p. 8 - 9
2.3. The Origins of Development: A lexical analysis	p. 9 - 10
2.4. The Third World Solution	p. 10 - 11
2.5. Seers and Sen	p. 11
2.6. Post-Development Critique	p. 12 - 13
2.7. The Ethics of Development	p. 13 - 15
2.8. Market-Based Development Approaches	p. 15 - 16
2.9. Fair Trade	p. 16
2.10. Development Consumption	p. 17 - 18
2.11. Design for Development	p. 18 - 19

2.12.	Artisans: Making/Manufacturing for Development	p. 19 - 20
2.13.	Paternalism and the Artisan	p. 21
2.14.	Industrialised Garment Manufacture and Development	p. 21 - 22
2.15.	Engagement with 'Fashion for Development'	p. 22 - 24
2.15.1.	Reports	p. 22 - 23
2.15.2.	Popular Literature	p. 23
2.15.3.	Academic Engagement	p. 23 - 24
2.16.	Conclusion	p. 25
3.	Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology	p. 26 - 32
3.1.	Introduction	p. 26
3.2.	A Theoretical Underpinning	p. 26 - 27
3.3.	Methodology: A Brief Overview	p. 27
3.4.	Data Generation	
3.4.1.	Desktop Research: E-commerce Platforms	p. 27 - 28
3.4.2.	Sample	p. 28
3.4.3.	Instrument: Data Collection	p. 28
3.4.4.	Interviews	p. 29
3.4.5.	Sample	p. 29 - 30
3.4.6.	Instrument: Interviews	p. 30
3.4.7.	Ethical Protocol	p. 30
3.5.	Power Dynamics	p. 31
3.6.	Method of Analysis	p. 32
3.7.	Conclusion	p. 32
4.	Chapter 4: Research Findings	p. 33 - 70
4.1.	Introduction	p. 33
4.2.	<i>Section 1: Organisational Structures of Stakeholders, Brands and Charitable Actors</i>	
4.2.1.	Professional Stakeholders	p. 33
4.2.1.1.	Table 1: Professional Actors Interviewed	p. 34 - 35
4.2.2.	Desktop Analysis: E-Commerce Brands	p. 36
4.2.2.1.	Table 2: Selection of Fashion for Development Initiatives	p. 37 - 39
4.2.3.	Understanding Data Collected	p. 40
4.2.4.	Professional Stakeholders: Organisational Structures	p. 40 - 41
4.2.5.	Funding	p. 41 - 42
4.2.6.	E-commerce Brands: Organisational Structures	p. 42
4.2.7.	The Charitable/Commercial Hybrid	p. 42 - 43
4.2.8.	The Commercial Enterprise	p. 43 - 44

4.2.9. The Social Enterprise	p. 44
4.2.10. Subsidiaries/Suppliers	p. 45
4.2.11. CSR Integration	p. 45 - 46
4.2.12. Conclusion	p. 46
4.3. <i>Section 2: Interview Analysis</i>	p. 46
4.3.1. The Provision of Employment	p. 46 - 47
4.3.2. Capacity Building: Simple Skills	p. 47 - 48
4.3.3. Understanding 'Trade not Aid'	p. 48 - 49
4.3.4. Tensions	p. 49 - 50
4.3.5. Methodologies of 'Trade not Aid'	p. 50
4.3.6. Method: Pricing	p. 50 - 51
4.3.7. Method: Duty Free Trade	p. 51
4.3.8. Method: Product Continuity	p. 51 - 52
4.3.9. Equity in Training and Resourcing	p. 52 - 53
4.3.10. Managing Risk	p. 53 - 54
4.3.11. Independent of Northern Intervention?	p. 54 - 55
4.3.12. Challenges	p. 56
4.3.12.1. Appropriate Skills	p. 56
4.3.12.2. Access to Raw Materials	p. 56 - 57
4.3.12.3. Imports and Taxation	p. 57
4.3.13. Conclusion	p. 57 - 58
4.4. <i>Section 3: Online Discourse Analysis of 'Fashion for Development' E-commerce Platforms</i>	
4.4.1. Desktop Research: Initial Categories	p. 58 - 59
4.4.2. Types of Businesses Surveyed	p. 59 - 60
4.4.3. Market Segmentation	p. 60
4.4.4. Empowerment and Development Discourse	p. 60 - 62
4.4.5. A New Agent: The Consumer	p. 62 - 63
4.4.6. Selling Imagined Africa	p. 63 - 64
4.4.7. Retailing the 'other'	p. 64 - 65
4.4.8. Descriptions of the Handmade and the Natural	p. 65 - 67
4.4.9. Design and Paternalism	p. 67 - 68
4.4.10. Design Facilitation	p. 68 - 70
4.4.11. Conclusion	p. 70
5. Chapter 5: Discussion	p. 71 - 83
5.1. Introduction	p. 71
5.2. Section One: Tangential Articulations of Agency and Dependency	p. 72 - 75

5.2.1. <i>Assessing Freedoms</i>	p. 72 - 73
5.2.2. <i>Financing for Independence</i>	p. 74 - 75
5.3. Section Two: Methodologies of Development	p. 75 - 79
5.3.1. <i>Development through the provision of waged work</i>	p. 76 - 77
5.3.2. <i>Future Opportunities: Vertically-Integrated Supply Chains</i>	p. 77 - 78
5.3.3. <i>Barriers to Increased Impact</i>	p. 78 - 79
5.4. Section Three: The Marketing of Development	p. 79 - 81
5.5. Practical Applications	p. 81
5.6. Recommendations for Future Work	p. 82
5.7. Limitations	p. 82
5.8. Conclusion	p. 82 - 83
6. Chapter 6: Conclusion	p. 84 - 86
7. Appendixes	
A.1. Summary of Professional Actors Interviewed	p. 87
A.2. Summary of E-commerce Brands Analysed	p. 88 - 91
B.1. Interview Schedule	p. 92
B.2. Plain Language Statement and Consent Forms	p. 93 - 98
8. List of References	p. 99 - 110
9. Bibliography	p. 111 - 142

LISTS OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables

Table 1: Black, J. 2017. *Professional Actors Interviewed*. [excel table] Private Collection: Julia Black

Table 2: Black, J. 2017. *Selection of Fashion for Development Initiatives*. [excel table] Private Collection: Julia Black

Figures

Figure 1: Black, J. 2017. *Understanding Data Collected: Professional Stakeholders Interviewed*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

Figure 2: Black, J. 2017. *Funding Streams of Professional Stakeholders*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

Figure 3: Black, J. 2017. *The Charitable Commercial Hybrid*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

Figure 4: Black, J. 2017. *Variance in Commercial Enterprise*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

Figure 5: Black, J. 2017. *CSR Integration in High-Street Brands*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

Figure 6: Black, J. 2017. *A Brief Overview of E-Commerce Brands*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

Figure 7: Black, J. 2017. *Funding Streams between PMIA and MMB*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

GLOSSARY

AGOA - African Growth and Opportunity Act

CMT - Cutting, Making (sewing), and Trimming

EU – European Union

EFI – Ethical Fashion Initiative

GVC – Global Value Chain

ILO – International Labour Organisation

IMF – International Monetary Foundation

ITC – International Trade Centre

OECD - Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development

SME – Small and Medium-sized Enterprises

MSME – Micro, Small and Medium-sized Enterprise

UN – United Nations

WB – World Bank

WTO – World Trading Organisation

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

I'm not here to spin stories on the romance of Africa, I'm here to talk about work... What we do is to harness fashion as a vehicle out of poverty. We work with the poorest of the poor but it is not pity. This is not charity, this is work. And you are our vital partners, so welcome to Africa. (The New York Times, 2012)

Simone Cipriani delivers a keynote speech at the New York Times 2012 'International Luxury Conference' on the 'Ethical Fashion Initiative', a joint project of both United Nations and International Trade Centre (UN ITC) agencies, of which Cipriani is founder and head. Unequivocally evangelical in tone, he admonishes an audience of prominent and well-connected luxury fashion buyers to marry notions of profitable business practice with international development, shifting '...identities from egotism to engagement' he states (The New York Times, 2012). Set on a dazzling podium, Cipriani's speech embodies the glamour of the luxury fashion industry; exclusive, expensive and of undeniable quality. However, the offering of the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative differs from the traditional philanthropic or charitable gala raising 'funds', instead proposing a resolutely more 'holistic' solution. They champion the employment of artisans across the Global South into global value chains (GVCs) through the utilisation of garment manufacture and accessory development. As Cipriani describes '...producing luxury items in the slums' (The New York Times, 2012). Fashion manufacture is explicitly described as '...a vehicle for development' enacted through the provision of employment and skills-based training (UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative, 2017).

Over recent years, several high-profile fashion brands have emerged operating in a similar vein to that of the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative, addressing development issues as a core tenant of their commercial operations. These fashion brands tackle pervasive development problems by leveraging the power of fashion consumers, i.e. purchases equal development results. Faced with dwindling aid resources (Adelman, 2009; Miller *et al.*, 2013), a diminishing tax base, and veracious dissent regarding the efficacy of deficiencies of foreign aid (Adelman and Eberstadt, 2008), the international development community has diversified. Characterised as a 'shift from public aid to private flows' (Richey and Ponte, 2014, p. 1), traditional funding sources comprised of only 17% of total financial flows from Northern to Southern states between 1991 and 2007 (Adelman, 2009, p. 27). Development scholars have become increasingly attentive to the role of commercial enterprise in leveraging market forces to agitate economic growth and secure financial support from Northern consumers (Banks and Hulme, 2014; Brockington, 2014; Richey and Ponte, 2014). Recognising both the detrimental effects of foreign aid and the potential merit housed in private sector collaboration has raised the profile and perceived value of market-led development interventions. This is particularly evident within small-scale export processing zones (EPZs) or micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs). Intra-governmental agencies, such as the UN's Supporting Entrepreneurs for Environment and Development (SEED) initiative, facilitate 'market-based mechanisms' to participate in poverty alleviation (SEED, 2017). However, ramifications of market-led development interventions within the fashion industry have been significantly undertheorized.

1.1. Research Context

Within the wider trajectory of development, garment production has been appraised as an ‘entry-point’ to wider industrialisation (Gereffi *et al.*, 2001; Keane and te Velde, 2008; Distelhorst *et al.*, 2014). The provision of waged work has been framed as a meritorious contribution towards poverty alleviation and the employment of marginalised women in Southern nations (Kabeer and Mahmud, 2004; Kabeer, 2008). The UK Department for International Development conceives garment manufacture under similar terms, a valuable agent through which to ‘raise incomes and expand women’s life choices’ (DFID and UK AID, 2017, p. 19). Significant research has addressed the contribution of garment manufacture within macroeconomic development and has outlined various methodologies towards furthering the efficacy of the manufacturing process (Gereffi *et al.*, 2001; Keane and te Velde, 2008; Distelhorst *et al.*, 2014).

There is a consensus amongst development theorists that commercial enterprise has historically formed a passive role within development, coming recently (post-1980s) to the intentional leverage of corporate structures for development gains (Newell, 2008; Blowfield and Dolan, 2014; Richey and Ponte, 2014). High-profile media coverage in the late 1980s concerned with the flouting of human rights, environmental degradation, and labour exploitation, made the continued acquiescence of commercial enterprise in the Global South untenable (Blowfield and Dolan, 2014, p. 22). Newly characterised as ‘development tool’, the private sector has affiliated itself within international development as an intentional agent (Blowfield and Dolan, 2014, p. 24). Littlewood and Holt (2015) describe a ‘surge’ within the past twenty years regarding the role of business intentionally dealing with development issues (both social and environmental). This is particularly pertinent within the fashion industry, which in recent years has turned to address the wider social and environmental ramifications of its commercial operations. Evidenced in the introduction of corporate social responsibility (CSR) programmes.

Preliminary findings have indicated that the ‘socially responsible’ facilitation of Southern artisans or garment workers into GVCs can enable the self-determination and empowerment of workers (Dickson and Littrell, 2010; Soule *et al.*, 2017). Prior research has identified methodologies for ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, ranging from ‘one-to-one purchasing to sustainable artisanal workshops’ (Lamrad and Hanlon, 2014, p. 601). This has been widened to include: corporate social responsibility (CSR) programmes initiated by high-street retailers, ethical fashion retailers producing garments under socially responsible conditions, and a variety of social enterprise models employed across the not-for-profit and charitable sector. However, for the purposes of this thesis, ‘fashion for development’ initiatives will be understood as initiatives which deliver economic development and social empowerment programmes through incorporating (employing) Southern artisans or garment workers into GVCs. Lamrad and Hanlon’s *Untangling Fashion for Development* (2014) is the lone study explicitly addressing the implications of small-scale fashion manufacturing and marketing leveraging purchases for development gains. Additional literature examining socially motivated fashion enterprise is scarce, and often uncritical in its reporting (see Mukherji and Jain, 2009; Gardetti and Muthu, 2015). A narrow focus on singular case studies has created a myopic focus on individual incidences of the interrelation between fashion manufacture and international development, and as of yet larger conclusions cannot be drawn. Opacity in the type or nature of development activities enacted by fashion enterprises results in confusion over their merit, efficacy, and results. Extraneous examinations such as Andrew Brooks’ *Clothing Poverty* (2015), although meritorious in themselves, offer only a cursory glance at socially motivated garment manufacture. However, Banks and Hulme remark that as commercial activity within

development has intensified, so have ‘...marketing and advertising ...[as] legitimate and essential activities.’ (2014, p. 189). There is considerable scope in initiating a wider study of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, critically assessing both the intention and efficacy purported by their commercial activity, reported through both their organisational structuring and marketing efforts.

1.2. Research Aim and Objectives

Research Title:

Investigating Fashion Manufacture within International Development: Discussing intention and efficacy.

Aim:

To identify the value of fashion manufacture as an effective tool for international development.

Objectives:

- To establish the current state of international development
- To map theory related to ‘fashion for development’ through a thorough literature review
- To establish contemporary perspectives of fashion for development (methods in practice)
- To provide robust criticism and evaluation of current methods of ‘fashion for development’
- To provide recommendations future research or methods of ‘fashion for development’.

1.3. Merit and Importance of the Research

By developing a theory regarding ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, it is possible to better situate the efficacy, profitability and meanings engendered by such schemes. The arrival of robust and constructive criticism regarding the field of such ‘benevolent’ uses of fashion would allow for more concrete and empirical studies to be completed on the meanings and purposes of such action. It is pertinent to ascertain whether such initiatives offer value within the international development community. Or whether they form a convenient method of achieving ‘glossy’ PR coverage, with little true development benefit.

1.4. Research Design and Methodology

To appropriately furnish the research aim, it was necessary to both generate primary data (in-depth semi-structured interviews) and analyse existing data (literature review, online content analysis). To assess the intention and efficacy of development intervention as ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, the topic must be rendered within literature related to international development.

As a key research objective was concerned with mapping theory concerned with such schemes – a qualitative study was proposed. Measuring efficacy, intention or empowerment is best illuminated through qualitative approaches. This is not to exclude the value of quantitative data towards examining this area. However, is perhaps indicative of the infancy of the area that research was best examined within a qualitative methodology. Elements illuminated within the literature review and subsequent data gathering, denote the need for quantitative analysis. Yet, this is perhaps already a direction for future study, providing a quantitative analysis of ‘fashion for development’ impacts.

Data was initially generated through the literature review, to develop a critical stance through which to assess the research topic. This will be used as a complement with the discussion chapter (Chapter 5), to aid the delivery of discursive theory generation. Secondary data generation was initially modelled around Lamrad and Hanlon’s prior study, *‘Untangling Fashion for Development’* (2014). The current research project extends the scope of research surrounding ‘fashion for development’ initiatives beyond the three case studies provided by Lamrad and Hanlon. It was considered that an astute extension of prior research would utilise a similar methodology.

The choice of qualitative content analysis also allowed for a utilisation of a mixed methods approach, which is appreciative of the potential overlapping of deductive and inductive data interpretation (Neuman, 2011). Online discourse analysis was used to critically deconstruct marketing methodologies and language utilised within e-commerce ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. However, to appropriately deepen the nature of discussion and knowledge surrounding ‘fashion for development’ schemes, seven semi-structured interviews of professional stakeholders were conducted. Primary data through interviewing professional stakeholders contributed to achieving a contemporary understanding of ‘fashion for development’.

This study was exploratory and interpretive in nature. Following an initial mapping relying on the desktop research of e-commerce brands. It was furthered by undertaking seven interviews in the Spring of 2017 with leading policy professionals, development charities, trade facilitators, socially motivated garment manufactures, and several ‘sole practitioners’ operating SMEs in sub-Saharan Africa.

1.5. Significance

This research will provide an important opportunity to advance an understanding of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, in both practice and communication. It is the first study attempting to ‘widen’ the discourse surrounding socially motivated fashion enterprises, examining both the operational methodologies employed and the methods of communications utilised by brands. The study will offer important insights into several key areas. Primarily, into how fashion is being used for international development, how it may be used to better understand how to carry out such initiatives, and within ethical fashion theory, whether they merit inclusion.

1.6. Limitations / Scope

For this research project, observing the use of fashion manufacture on a smaller scale enabled a deeper study of individual actors, intentions and practices within both the fashion retail and international development landscape. As previously addressed, this was partially driven the

abundance of ‘fashion for development’ brands operating small-scale EPZs or MSMEs identified at the initiation of the project.

The ubiquity of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives within development reports and advertising, made them an appropriate and significant site for investigation (see (Miller *et al.*, 2013). Examining the nature of fashion manufacture as a development agent on a macro level could not be appropriately quantified with this MSc research, and would require a longitudinal study. The research is focused on the purposeful use of fashion manufacture (through the provision of employment or training) as a tool within international development. Initial reading suggested this was most prominent within small-scale EPZs or MSMEs, hence the focus on micro-initiatives. A full discussion of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives lies beyond the scope of this study. It is possible that many of the constituent elements of the research project will merit individual consultation at a later stage. However, as the current project was designed to provide an initial rendering of the topic, the varieties of methodologies, organisational structures and discourses employed within ‘fashion for development’ initiatives will be mapped. This is driven by the initial objective of the research to map and understand discourse related to ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. Furthermore, the time and availability of research subjects hindered the progression of the research.

1.7. Personal interest

This is no disinterested piece of scholarship, but rather a deeper investigation of my personal interest in the value of the integration of fashion manufacture within development practice. The research project was initially incubated in the latter part of 2012, in a rural sewing school in northern Mozambique. A former Portuguese colony, Mozambique ranks amongst the world’s poorest countries with a GDP per capita of \$1,200 and a median age of 17 years old (CIA, 2013). Under the auspices of a large global development charity, I was employed to both initiate a vocational training school and facilitate the creation of a subsidiary business through which goods would be sold for both export and domestic tourist markets. Providing routes to employment and developing the necessary capacity for such adjustments was a method of tackling widespread youth unemployment in the area, and in part, addressing problematic dependency issues surrounding the base.

The project was beset with exasperating complications, from the sourcing of appropriate machinery to training materials, textiles, and notions, which continued to slow the progress of the program. Embedded socioeconomic issues amplified the sluggish progression of the initiative, from poor job discipline, to a profound need for counselling services (self-esteem issues were prevalent amongst many employees). Latterly, many of the original beneficiaries which I personally worked with went on to favourable employment in the local luxury hotel. This, to me, was an entirely successful outcome, continued employment manufacturing fashion accessories was not sustainable under the on-going organisational environment, which relied on the continued financial support of the development organisation. As opposed to hand-outs from the organisation, beneficiaries were integrated into a new system of dependency where they became reliant on the ‘false’ business environment created by the organisation. I questioned whether I was complicit in this process.

The research project was conceived to contribute towards developing a theory to explain, predict, and potentially derive a methodology to critically analyse ‘fashion for development’ schemes, and to provide recommendations for future of such initiatives. A series of research objectives were derived from the original research aim to adequately reflect both the range of

issues surrounding ‘fashion for development’ initiatives and, crucially, to adequately answer and address the aim of the project.

1.8. Outline of Chapters

The overall structure of this thesis takes the form of six chapters, including this introductory chapter. A literature review of topics relevant to rendering the research topic, mapping current research relevant to ‘fashion for development’ initiatives is presented in Chapter 2. The first section outlines the ideological and philosophical origins of international development industry, setting the research in context within the wider trajectory of the development agenda. Attention has been paid to notions of colonialism, paternalism and neo-colonialism are interpreted within literature concerned with international development. An assessment is made of current thinking concerned with ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, in reference to pro-poor market-based approaches to development. The lack of fashion-specific literature in this area necessitated the location of parallel argument within other disciplines. Studies concerned with the development impacts of Fair Trade were mined for relevant analogous arguments. In addition, social and environmental entrepreneurship within development practice, and Design for Development were surveyed for appropriate correspondent arguments.

Chapter Three is concerned with the methodologies used for this study. They are outlined and their design expanded. The fourth chapter presents the findings of the research project. This is structured into three key areas; an analysis of organisational structures employed by ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, results from interviews with professional, and a presentation of findings retrieved from the desktop research. Chapter 5 is the discussion and draws upon the entire thesis, tying up the various theoretical and empirical strands. This is in order to initiate a discussion regarding the intention and efficacy of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. Chapter Six contains the conclusions of the research project, reiterating the key findings, and additionally houses the suggestions regarding future research directions.

1.9. Key Terms

To better understand the research topic, several clarifications must be made.

1.9.1. Fashion for Development

The term ‘fashion for development’ has been borrowed from Lamrad and Hanlon’s (2014) study. As it is an appropriate phrase to categorise the emergence of fashion enterprises leveraging purchases to achieve international development goals. Lamrad and Hanlon designate these as encompassing a variety of initiatives from ‘one-to-one purchasing to sustainable artisanal workshops’ (2014, p. 601). The scope of this research has enabled the widening of the topic to include; CSR programs initiated by high-street retailers, ethical fashion retailers producing garments under socially responsible conditions, and a variety of social enterprise models employed across the not-for-profit and charitable sector.

1.9.2. Fashion Manufacture

The decision was made to include both clothing and accessories manufacture as relevant and applicable sources of ‘fashion manufacture’, due to the ubiquity of both cut make and trim (CMT) services and leather goods and accessories manufacture (handbags, footwear, and jewellery) within the initial review of the topic. Examining the manufacture of both garments and leather goods/accessories enabled a more comprehensive mapping of the topic. As a key objective of the research was to examine current practice between the interrelating objectives of

fashion manufacture and international development. The exclusion of fashion accessories production would not have appropriately served the research. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, fashion manufacture is taken to encompass both garment manufacture and accessory production. If further clarity is necessitated, explanation will be provided

1.9.3. *Global North and South*

Throughout this thesis, the terms ‘Global South’ and ‘Global North’ will be used to describe the socioeconomic divide between more ‘developed’ and less ‘developed’ nations. Global North and South have been exercised in preference over outdated conceptions of ‘Third World’ or ‘developing countries’ (the historical origins of these terms will be further explored in Chapter 2). Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Oslo observes that:

...Global North is associated with stable state organization, an economy largely under (state) control and – accordingly – a dominant formal sector. The recipients of foreign aid, needless to say, belong to the Global South. (2015, p. 1)

The binary divide between North and South was initially conceived by Willian Brandt in 1983 in the Brandt Report (Centre for Global Negotiations, 2010). Nations were categorised by gross domestic product (GDP) drawing an imaginary line 30° North of the equator, forming a dividing line between rich and poor. However, the global South and North are relatively unamenable to categorical definition regarding development, heterogeneous by nature. The failings of ‘blanket-terms’ for describing the vast array of geopolitical, historical, economic and sociocultural affairs is well documented amongst both geographical and development literature (Hylland Eriksen, 2015). The prefix ‘global’ is useful in marking the deficiencies of the current terminology. ‘Global’ suggests an amalgamation or broadening of geographical area, encompassing a wider intercontinental understanding of North and South (Hylland Eriksen, 2015, p. 1). Not all ‘under’ developed countries reside in the Southern hemisphere, nor developed in the Northern hemisphere, i.e. the Ukraine, Singapore, Australia are notable examples. This is not an exhaustive definition of the terms Global North and South but is sufficient for the progression of this thesis.

1.9.4. *Global Value Chains*

For the purposes of this research, global value chains (GVCs) are discussed as underlining the respective value of actions/activities need to produce a garment or accessory, from source material through production to consumer purchase and end disposal.

1.10. Conclusion

To conclude, there is considerable merit in further investigating the use of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, particularly regarding how it is being employed by professional stakeholders and e-commerce brands within both the fashion and development industry. Principally performed through interviews of professional stakeholders, and an analysis of e-commerce platforms, the research will provide a meritorious contribution to how ‘fashion for development’ schemes are utilised. It is hoped that the current study will be of assistance to development professionals, NGOs, and fashion manufacturers negotiating utilising ‘fashion for development’ schemes.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of the literature review is to appropriately contextualise the research project outlined; an investigation into both the intention and efficacy of fashion manufacture within international development. To effectively analyse the research topic, a thorough understanding of prior studies concerned with the intentional utilisation of fashion manufacturing practices within international development methodologies is needed. The first section outlines the ideological and philosophical origins of international development industry, setting the research in context within the wider trajectory of the development agenda. Attention has been paid to notions of colonialism, paternalism and neo-colonialism within literature concerned with international development. An assessment is made of current thinking concerned with ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, in reference to pro-poor market-based approaches to development. The lack of fashion-specific literature in this area necessitated the location of parallel argument within other disciplines. Studies concerned with the development impacts of Fair Trade were mined for relevant analogous arguments. In addition, discourse concerned with ‘Design for Development’ was surveyed for appropriate correspondent arguments.

2.1. Contextualising the philosophical origins of development

To accurately assess the intention and efficacy of development intervention in the form of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, the topic must be appropriately rendered within literature related to international development. To initiate the literature review, the philosophical and theoretical origins of international development theory and practice have been mapped. It should be mentioned that it was not the intention to read everything written on the topic of international development, but rather to identify authoritative and relevant texts to derive a useful framework for engagement with current development discourse. Attention has been paid to locating development discourse which illuminates larger philosophical arguments dealing with the purpose, morality and ethics of intervention via development. The following discussion provides a necessary grounding in the histories, philosophies and current practice of international development to better aid the analysis of ‘fashion for development’ as a plausible scheme.

2.2. Defining International Development

It is necessary to clarify the use of the term ‘international development’, partly because of its inclusion within the title of the thesis. As the following literature review will demonstrate, making definitive categorisations of development is a highly contestable activity, many scholars consider only a ‘partial’ theory has yet been generated to clarify the causes of both development and underdevelopment (Kuhnen, 1986, p. 7). Thus, definitions remain complex. Whilst a variety of clarifications between development and the practice of ‘international development’ have been made, this thesis will use the definition suggested by Brooks (2017) in *The End of Development*. Brooks carefully elucidates the nuances between definitions of ‘capitalist

development’, and ‘International Development’. Capitalist development, according to Brooks, refers to the economic and territorial expansion of industrial and commercial operations, within a global content. International development is discussed as ‘...deliberate intervention in poor countries’ (Brooks, 2017, p. 7). This is further defined as:

... an intentional intervention to confront the depredations wrought by centuries of capitalist development in the colonised parts of the world. It is about much more focused projects that have a narrower temporal and geographical extent than the global historical process of capitalist development. (Brooks, 2017, p. 9).

Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, when referring to international development it can be taken that the research is concerned with conscious and planned action initiated to alleviate poverty or bolster economic progress. For this reason, the research has examined deliberate cases of international development, and has deferred from analysis the effects of fashion manufacture on a macro scale. The research project is concerned with the repercussions of small scale initiatives incorporating garment workers into GVCs, rather than the consequences or intentions of garment manufacture in Bangladesh, for example. It is this small-scale adoption of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives by fashion brands which has been studied and theorised.

2.3. The Origins of Development: A Lexical Analysis

To effectively furnish a review of past and current modes of development, it is prudent to provide a brief discussion of literature related to the semantics of the discipline. The syntax of development succinctly roots the research in its contextual origins. The following section by no means presents an exhaustive understanding of the emergence of development, achieving consensus within the development community a problematic and contestable issue itself. A functional apprehension of the topic is served for the purposes of the current research project. Several comprehensive studies provide excellent renderings of international development, such as Brooks (2017) *The End of Development: A Global History of Poverty and Prosperity*, and Rist (2008) *The History of Development : From Western Origins to Global Faith*. The following section presents a condensed synthesis of the origins of international development.

Traditionally, the origins of terminology concerned with international development is traced to US President Truman’s 1949 Inaugural Address, which addressed the need to serve ‘underdeveloped’ nations (Eade *et al.*, 2001; Sumner and Tiwari, 2009; Haslam *et al.*, 2012). The 1949 Inaugural Address is described by Rist as having ‘inaugurated the ‘development age’’ (2008, p. 71). Understanding the subtle shift in lexical terminology is crucial in comprehending the remarkable shift in locus concerning the nature and state of development. Prior understandings or phrasings of development referenced ‘backwards’ nations. Several theorists regard the use of ‘underdeveloped’ as an alternative to ‘backwards’, as a marked alteration indicating the responsibility and necessitation for Western intervention (Haslam *et al.*, 2012, p. 5; Pongratz-Chander, 2014). A pertinent summation of this adjustment is provided by Rist, who suggests:

The appearance of the term ‘underdevelopment’ evoked not only the idea of change in the direction of a final state but, above all, the possibility of bringing about such change. (Rist, 2008, p. 73)

The use of the term ‘underdeveloped’ suggested progression was possible, the prior utilisation of ‘backwards’ was rooted in colonial understandings of ‘naïve’ or ‘primitive’ nations, unable to

progress. Development is recapitulated as both a form of economic and social evolutionism, the development of ‘backward’ nations is understood as a feasible task. The relative infancy of international development as a topic is mirrored in the range of accessible texts which critically analyse its multifarious elements, originally served through an amalgamation of disciplinary approaches from political theory, anthropology, geography, economics. The emergence of subject specific textbooks, typically serving undergraduates, suggest to Schech a ‘distinctive’ or subject specific approach unique to international development (2010, p. 451). Haslam *et al.*’s (2012) reader *International Development: Approaches, Actors and Issues* provides a suitable initial rendering of varied issues within international development, particularly regarding post-1940s interventions and reforms, however, is routed towards undergraduate students both in content and tone. More comprehensive readings of development theory are found in the aforementioned contributions by Brooks (2017) and Rist (2008).

It is pertinent to briefly note, that although the preceding definition or lexical analysis of development/underdevelopment marks predominant thought, alternative theorists attribute notions of social evolutionism within development to earlier virtue ethics philosophy. Leys (1996) in *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory* traces theorisations of development to late 18th century conceptions of the ‘human flourishing’ within German Idealism (1996, p. 4). Georg Hegel, a prominent political philosopher in German Idealism concerned with virtue ethics, instituted notions of ‘human flourishing’ or ‘the good life’ amongst his writings. A theorisation of Hegel’s work and influence is not pertinent to the current research project, however, indicates the multifarious range of arguments concerned with the origins of development. A robust critical analysis of Hegel’s work, and its influence on current conceptions of the political economy is accessible in Goldstein’s (2006) ‘Hegel’s Idea of the Good Life.’

2.4. The Third World Solution

To complete this concise rendering of international development, it is pertinent to remark upon terminology regarding the ‘three-world’ solution. For this sub-section, the literature review briefly appraises Victor Margolin’s, Professor Emeritus of Design History at the University of Illinois, 2007 paper *Design for Development – Towards a History*, which, yet again emphasizes the variegated and multifarious reach of research concerned with international development. Despite a focus on the emergence of ‘Design for Development’ as a design discipline, Margolin provides a nuanced history of Western hegemony within development. In brief, the third-world solution traditionally refers to an ideological understanding of the ‘asymmetric’ division of nation states from the Cold War period. Emphasis is placed on the success of industrialised capitalist ‘First World’ or Western nations, the ‘centralized command economies’ of ‘Second World’ communist countries, and latterly, ‘new’ nations which comprise of former colonies, i.e. the ‘Third World’ (Margolin, 2007, p. 111). The preferential emphasis on the ‘First World’ nations can alternatively be viewed through the utilisation of the term ‘peripheral’ to describe Third World nations, and the hegemonic influence of ‘core’ First World countries. Margolin suggests that the ‘ideological underpinnings of this asymmetric structure [has] politicized the three groups, tainting the transfer of aid and technical assistance with propagandistic overtones’ (2007, p. 111). Subsequently, the disintegration of the ideology surrounding the three-world structure following the collapse of the Soviet Union caused the loss of meaning intended by the original language. Despite this, the hegemonic influence of primarily capitalist ‘First World’ economic solutions have remained, which Margolin describes as ‘...development according to the models of the most industrialized countries’ (2007, p. 111). This conception of development is primarily seen through the provision of immense loans to countries in the Global South from the Global North through bia-lateral agencies such as the WB and IMF, and structural

adjustment programmes (SAPs) (Brooks, 2017, p. 144). Additional international development activities classically comprise of ‘social projects’ enacted by NGOs, aid agencies, and private philanthropists (2007, p. 111).

An essential ideological shift in the 1980s regarding international development, brought the beginnings of a more *human centred* development. The landmark study presented by The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) *Our Common Future* or *Brundtland Report* in 1987, provided a significant cornerstone to the research project. The key phrases, proliferated throughout many research papers on sustainability and sustainable development, mark a lexical shift towards incorporating a wider understanding of development, over a simple prioritisation of gross domestic product (GDP). The phrase most often cited, is outlined as: ‘...development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs’. (WCED, 1987, p. 43) This is frequently expressed as ‘inter-generational’ justice or ‘equity’ between generations (WCED, 1987), a consideration of the social, environmental, and economic needs of Earth. *The Brundtland Report* was cited as the benchmark of a ‘global agenda for change’, (WCED, 1987) and influenced decades of environmental policy ‘on both national and international levels.’ (Jacobs, 1999) The inclusion of both environmental and human justice marks an essential semiotic shift towards a more holistic understanding of development. The theorists, Dudley Seers and Amartya Sen, who influenced this shift will be discussed in the following section.

To conclude, there are several authors concerned with the origins of international development as a topic, charting the lexical evolution of international development actions is an effective route through which to ground the discipline. However, within this brief review of introductory texts concerned with international development, the oppression or poor appraisal of the value of Southern nations is evident. Analysing ‘fashion for development’ initiatives through this historical lens facilitates a deeper, and contextually rounded examination. This brief review of the contestable origins of international development lays the foundations for further study into more relevant, and recent, discussion regarding the topic. The following section deals with two dominant discourses concerning international development theory, threads are prevalent throughout policy and practice.

2.5. Seers and Sen

Contemporary thought regards development as a multifaceted topic, influenced by the myriad of cultural, socioeconomic, and geopolitical situations and diasporas to which it covers. As previously discussed, it is not possible within the constraints of the current research project to provide a comprehensive analysis of the multifarious understandings of development. However, to appropriately render the nature of international development for the current research topic, two exemplars of diverging interpretations of development are provided. Dudley Seers *The Meaning of Development* (1969), and Amartya Sen’s *Development as Freedom* (1999), represent seminal contributions towards a holistic understanding of development, challenging orthodox economic philosophy.

A critical shift from development conceptualised as gross domestic product (GDP) per capita income is marked within the writing of Seers (1969). His research creates wider objectives through which to measure development, i.e. life expectancy, educational attainment, literacy levels (Sumner and Tiwari, 2009). To equate ‘development with economic development and economic development with economic growth’, is analytically deconstructed by Seers (1969, p. 1). More holistic markers of development may additionally indicate peri-urbanisation,

disenfranchisement and ‘chronic [civil] tension.’ (Seers, 1969, p. 3) He indicates national income may be a poor indicator of growth, precipitated by the inaptitude of economic measures to reflect economic, educational and political attainment. Widening the locus of development thought within the literature review serves precipitate against a shallow rendering of development within the research project.

A consolidation of the work of Seers is evident in Sen’s seminal text *Development as Freedom* (1999), as the theorisation of holistic or human centred development is furthered. Sen’s formulation of development is perhaps most philosophical of all in theories related to development. The task of progress is not simply eradicating monetary poverty, but towards the removal of ‘unfreedoms’ (Sen, 1999). Development is presented as an integrated concept, requiring a combined appraisal of economic, social, and political actions towards true development; a holistic approach. The market locus of development theory is destabilised. Development may not be purely understood as the provision of freedoms, but the furnishing of the capacity through which to utilise such freedoms. Sen argues these five complementary freedoms as instrumental to achieving true freedom, or human flourishing, presented within five broad categories: political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security (Sen, 1999). It may be prudent, in the following analysis of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives to assess how ‘freedoms’ are negotiated through the organisational structures in operation. A valuable qualification of development facilitated through ‘fashion for development’ may be retrieved by assessing how ‘capabilities’ are wrought. Several counter arguments to Sen’s ‘capability’ approach have been identified, to holistically assess the current context of development.

2.6. Post-Development Critique

To accurately evaluate the efficacy and intention of international development, through fashion manufacture, post-development theory necessitates examination. Post-development theory concerns the ideology of development, suggesting academic scholarship concerned with development abates Northern economic hegemony. The absence of critical reflection and theory related to ‘fashion for development’ initiatives indicate that a large majority of practice is divorced from the critical analysis offered by post-development authors. As the research topic is concerned with the intention and efficacy of development enacted through ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, assessing the value of international development altogether is pertinent. The subsequent review of post-development theory seeks to bridge this gap. The technocratic process of development as a positive agent has been strongly contested, notably by Arturo Escobar and Gilbert Rist.

Arturo Escobar’s (1999) *The Invention of Development* critically analyses development theory as a Northern construct through which the colonial reformation of ‘natives’ or ‘native’ nations is legitimised, by the perpetuation of the conceptualisation of the South as both ‘different and inferior’ (1999, p. 386). Escobar’s critique on the ‘invention’ of development is best surmised as: ‘Development assures a teleology to the extent that it proposes that the “natives” will sooner or later be reformed’ (1999, p. 386). It is argued that the professionalization of development practice (i.e. the integration of the development consultant, creation of university programs teaching ‘development’) and its institutionalisation (the creation of the IMF, WB, etc.) has corroded the autonomy and self-determination of Southern citizens (1999, p. 382). Arguably, the marketing practices of development ‘objects’ or products, i.e. their purchase aids a development cause, may act to further Escobar’s theorisation. ‘Fashion for development’ initiatives which rely on inciting feelings of compassion and care amongst consumers, may be

perpetuating notions of ‘different and inferior’ Southern citizens. Further study is needed to fully render this question.

Similar theorisations to that of Escobar are found amongst the post-development community. Gilbert Rist controversially argues that ‘poverty is proof of the ‘good health’ of the capitalist system’ (2007, p. 489), contending that the amorphous or contestable definitions of development have aided the exploitation of Southern nations under the guise of wealth creation. The vagaries of defining development (i.e. between economic or ‘International Development’) have furthered the destructive elements of its enactment, activities ranging from trade liberalisation, literacy programs, health initiatives, to foreign investment, may be counted within this shapeless definition. Rist’s critique takes form in his writing defining development:

the essence of ‘development’ is the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations in order to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared, by means of market exchange, to effective demand. (2007, p. 488)

The prioritisation of Northern economic markets or systems, can be analysed through both the extraction of wealth and value (i.e. advantageous use of low wage economies), or through theorisations which subsist on uncomfortable formulations of Northern economies as ‘best’. Notable extraneous arguments within the post-development community reviewed was the work of Robbie Shilliam (2012), Martha Nussbaum (2003), Peter Evans (2002), and Alfred Ndi (2011), who contend with the efficacy of Sen’s ‘capability approach’. Critiques lie in the; supposition of political freedom and economic growth as casually related (Shilliam, 2012), and capacity of the ‘development as freedom’ to deliver change under the continuance of foreign finance and hegemonic capitalist models (Evans, 2002; Ndi, 2011). Nussbaum’s assessment rests in social justice (2003). However, Ray Kiely contests the validity of post-development thought to accurately render ‘development’, suggesting a ‘romanisation’ of rural and local lives attests to the disavowal of Northern markets amongst post-development scholars (1999, p. 46). Acknowledging these counter-arguments concerning market based development models, allows for more robust analysis of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, regarding the viability, morality, and tacit implications of such schemes. The following section develops this theorisation of international development further, by exploring current research concerned with its amalgamation into private business practices. Succeeding this, the literature review explores market-based solutions to development through the vehicle of Fair Trade.

2.7. The Ethics of Development

It is prudent to engage in a brief review of the ethical applications of international development, so to fully situate the implications of such activity. Deriving a working definition of ‘ethical’ and its applications to both international development and the fashion industry is useful. The central issue necessitating reviewing is that summarised by Schafer *et al.*: ‘Do our moral duties extend beyond our families, neighbours, and fellow citizens?’ (2012, p.15). Moral duty, distributive ethics, or latterly the emergence of global ethics alongside that of the international development field, has produced a variety of schools of thought regarding our moral imperative to aid or help the ‘Other’ (ibid, 2012). An in-depth review of the emergence of philosophical approaches concerned with morality has not been made, but rather the literature review attempts to voice the opinions of key theorists whose work is specifically concerned with intervention through international development in the global South. Although the research is primarily

concerned with market-based approaches to development, those who touch upon aid as a facet of development have also been reviewed owing to the aid interventions of many ‘fashion for development’ programs which this research is concerned with.

A considerable amount of literature has been published concerning philosophical approaches to responsibility and action regarding the global South, many of these arguments resting largely within a cosmopolitanism conceptualisation of global responsibility. From the conception of a cosmopolitan ethic, a variety of differing schools of thought appear; consequentialist, contractarian, and rights-based philosophy. It is pertinent to mention how research has been generalised for the purposes of this research, and that many permeations and nuances of such thought exists. For the purposes of this review understanding of the definition and implications of a cosmopolitan ethic was derived from Onora O’Neill’s conception of the scope of justice. O’Neill presents cosmopolitan justice as equity, a collectively held value. The application of equity necessary across national boundaries, irrespective of race, place of birth, or gender (2000, p.45).

The prominence of philosophers within public debate regarding ethics, morality, and giving has risen over recent years. Peter Singer’s TED talk ‘*The why and how of effective altruism*’ (2013) has amassed over one million views on the TED platform alone, representative of increasing engagement and accessibility of such thought regarding both the prerogatives and practicalities of ethical engagement. Singer, Professor of Bioethics at Princeton and Applied Philosophy and Public Ethics at the University of Melbourne respectively, illustrates a turning tide towards the practical application of ethics. His work is easily accessible through a plethora of online articles, and his writing style within *Practical Ethics* (2011) and *The Life You Can Save* (2009) approachable, yet represent a depth of intellectual thought and reasoning towards a consequentialist ethic regarding the poor. Arguments in both above-named books authored by Singer, lend arguments to intervention through international development in the global South. A moral impedance towards action in the global South is conclusively illustrated by Singer. The crux of his argument is summarised here:

is it possible that by choosing to spend your money on such things rather than contributing to an aid agency, you are leaving a child to die, a child you could have saved? (Singer, 2009, p.5).

Singer’s arguments prove ‘unrealistic’ or idealised to many, in part influenced by his highly contentious work regarding speciesism and abortion rights, although it could be theorised as an uncomfortable reckoning with the personal applications of such radical call to wealth distribution. Singer’s conceptualisation of the Millennium Village project in *The Life You Can Save* (2009) provides a useful illustration with philosophical backing of short term intervention, resulting in long term change without the dissolution of the project following the retraction of aid. The second chapter, Equality and Its Implications, of *Practical Ethics* (2011) lays the base for arguments regarding the necessity to act in cases of labour abuse.

Peter Edward’s paper *The Ethical Poverty Line: a moral quantification of absolute poverty* (2006) also proved a useful departure within the literature regarding a hegemonic prioritization of GDP. Edward’s research, produced whilst a doctoral candidate at Magdalene College, Cambridge, amalgamates data from World Bank datasets and health literature, as he attempts to derive a working Ethical Poverty Line (EPL) which Edward’s describes as ‘morally defensible’ based on the moral duty espoused by the then Millennium Development Goals, to halve extreme poverty by 2015 (2006, p.375). Edwards quantifies the threshold from which falling life-

expectancy correlates with decreasing consumption, and draws a methodology from the negligible increase from increased consumption on life expectancy from this ‘kink’ point. This threshold, Edwards argues, can inform not only a more astute quantification of true poverty, beyond the \$1-a-day methodology, providing an argument for a decrease in consumption in the global North. Edwards suggests that:

rather than framing poverty solely in terms of how to lift people up to a poverty line, we should also—and with equal vigour probably—be calling on the developed world to justify its excesses...Then we could start to see the world as consisting of under-developed, appropriately developed and over-developed countries. (2006, p.392)

In a sense, Edwards conclusions redefine the moral imperative set out by Singer towards poverty alleviation in the global South, i.e. a redistribution of wealth from rich to poor, but asks for a reckoning of consumption levels as well. The comparison made by Edwards is sophisticated in its analysis, drawing a compelling and empirically led conclusion of the influence of consumption on wellbeing or ‘life outcome’ (2006, p.377). The influence of Sen’s early research is to count income as a factor but not conclusive element to well-being is clear. The emerging picture within the literature is that development is not merely a prioritization of growth, or even a discussion of economics, but a deeply moral and philosophical exercise.

2.8. Market-Based Development Approaches

To render the role of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives within international development, it is prudent to briefly review prior research examining the function of private sector commercial enterprise within development. ‘Fashion for development’ initiatives form examples of collaboration between the private-sector and the development sphere. It is compulsory then, to render the discourse within contemporaneous research concerned with the function of market-led development solutions to accurately situate the current research topic.

To appropriately render the connection between commercial enterprise and international development, it is useful to examine the work of two theorists, Paul Collier and C.P. Prahalad, and their work regarding the emergence of ‘base of the pyramid’ (BoP) discourse. BoP or ‘bottom billion capitalism’ (BBC) initiatives initially referred to the potential commercial opportunity available to multinational enterprises in the Global South, i.e. aid recipients could be reconfigured as consumers. Credence is given to Collier and Prahalad for their seminal contributions to BBC or BoP initiatives; as Prahalad reiterates, ‘low-income markets present a prodigious opportunity for the world’s wealthiest companies – to seek their fortunes and bring prosperity to the aspiring poor’ (Prahalad and Hart, 2002, p. 16). For an excellent systemic review of the evolution of BoP initiatives, see (Kolk *et al.*, 2014). However, over recent years, BoP schemes have matured, and instead emphasise ‘co-creation’ between the commercial enterprise in the Global North and South, following disapproval of the ‘exploitative’ BoP practices. Several supplementary studies which discuss the recapitulation of business practice within development literature were additionally reviewed (Opal and Nicholls, 2005; De Haan and Lakwo, 2010; Blowfield and Dolan, 2014; Littlewood and Holt, 2015). These articles examine the widening of market-led development interventions, as illustrated by Blowfield and Dolan, to include:

...Fairtrade labelling, microfinance, bottom of the pyramid (BOP) schemes, commercial social entrepreneurship), each of these harnesses the mechanisms of private enterprise for developmental ends by repositioning business as a development agent. (2014, p. 22)

Critiques lie in the ability of commercial enterprise to act in the interests of civil society. This idea has been fostered by several scholars concerned with the erosion of equity, and ability of private sector incentives to truly address development issues. The work of Business scholars Michael Blowfield and Catherine Dolan in *Business as a development agent: evidence of possibility and improbability* (2014) and development theorists Nicola Banks and David Hume in *'New development alternatives or business as usual with a new face'* (2014) supply particularly meritorious critiques. It is relevant to then consider how 'fashion for development' initiatives sit within discourse concerned with commercial enterprise within development, to what extent such programs support wider development aids, and the flexibility or capacity of the private sector to respond. The position of 'fashion for development' initiatives within wider development discourse has not yet been appraised.

2.9. Fair Trade

A number of researchers consider fair trade a 'trade based *approach*' to development issues (Marston, 2013, p. 163) or alternatively, a tool within international development (McArdle and Thomas, 2012). Therefore, the utilisation of Fair Trade as a market-based methodology, concerned with both the production and marketing of goods for development purposes, renders it an appropriate topic to extract parallel arguments for 'fashion for development' initiatives. The dearth of literature specifically concerned with 'fashion for development' initiatives necessitated the search for concurrent arguments within other disciplines. Consequently, the following section does not attempt to comprehensively map the divergent arguments within both the production, marketing, and consumption of Fair Trade, but rather identifies relevant arguments. To initiate, a brief definition of Fair Trade is provided.

Historically conceived as an 'alternative' economic system, fair trade originated as a methodology to support the inclusion of marginalised or impoverished producers in the global South into GVCs (Nicholls and Opal, 2005; Opal and Nicholls, 2005; Low and Davenport, 2007; Bennett and Reynolds, 2015). Often synonymous with the de-fetishization of commodity production, fair trade claims to provide security amidst the economic vagaries of globalised trade (Fridell, 2004). Fair trade can be partially viewed as a reaction to the detrimental impact of neoliberal trade bolstering unequitable trading conditions in the Global South (Rich-Zendel, 2011, p. 23). Several prominent development scholars decry exploitative trade conditions of the IMF and WB, which they suggest impede economic growth and further uneven economic development (Stiglitz and Charlton, 2005; Noman *et al.*, 2012; Andrew Brooks, 2017). Fair trade can be assessed both as a reactionary element to neoliberal globalisation, but also, as previously iterated, a market-led (commercial) approach to development issues. It is relevant to note at this juncture, the evaluation of fair trade as both; a methodology supporting marginalised Southern producers, and an independent social labelling system with regulated standards, i.e. Fair Trade. Traditionally, scholarship has focussed on the application of Fair Trade upon primary commodities; namely agricultural manufacture and food production. A small output of research has explored the production of craft objects under Fair Trade certification models; (Littrell and Dickson, 2006; Strawn and Littrell, 2006; Rich-Zendel, 2011; Mahoney, 2012; Fisher, 2013). The following section will review; 'developmental consumption' and the ethical consumer, and the efficacy of Fair Trade within artisanal or fashion manufacture.

2.10. Development Consumption

Literature concerned with Fair Trade lends itself particularly well to contextualising ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, with regards to ‘developmental consumption’ (Goodman, 2010, p. 104). ‘Fashion for development’ initiatives do not simply leverage the processes of consumption towards development, but in addition direct methodologies of consumption. The work of three scholars will be critically appraised in relation to their work concerning international development and the consumption of Fair Trade and/or ethical products. Michael Goodman’s research provides a valuable synthesis of the shifting nature of Fair Trade, and the potentially destructive implications regarding consumption. Consumption as a tool of development is evaluated, as Goodman argues:

The livelihoods of the poor are connected directly to—and indeed dependent on—the lifestyle choices of consumers. At the same time, the consumer takes on novel subjectivities in their role as ‘responsible’, ‘ethical’, and/or ‘sustainable’ consumer. The consumer, like the very act of consumption, is literally re-cast as the ‘savior’ whose power to promote development the world over has become paramount. (2010, p. 105)

His appraisal is adept; processes of mainstreaming Fair Trade have led to a proliferation of marketing narratives which sell limited truths regarding the nature of Southern production. This is accomplished by pushing the global South to become the marketers of their own development, where ‘...worthy situations must be sold...’ (Goodman, 2010, p. 106). Emphasis is placed on achieving attractive narratives and ‘glossy’ images through which to retail products created by Southern producers. According to Low and Davenport, fair trade is no longer writing a new narrative, but ‘promoting unsustainable consumption habits, which do little to engage with true human centered development’ the more Fair Trade products (and other ethical products) you buy, the more ‘good’ you do for planet and people (and profit) (2007, p. 336). Additionally, Goodman’s synthesis of the ‘celebritization’ of development, i.e. celebrity involvement in marketing campaigns, provides a rich site for examining a new imaginary for development, one which aligns us with our most preferred ‘stars’ (2010). The consumption of Fair Trade products is now explicitly aligned with the identities of celebrities; Fair Trade becomes further divorced from its original political intent.

Furthermore, Banet-Weiser and Mukherjee’s seminal text *Commodity Activism – Cultural Resistance in Neoliberal Times* (2012) provided an essential commentary on the nature of social activism through the lens of commodity consumption. Their book provides valuable critique of shifting perceptions of philanthropy and activism, surmising where they see as social action becomes a ‘marketable commodity,’ (2012, p. 2) through business models and campaigns such as GAP’s (RED) HIV awareness, or Lauren Bush’s FEED. There is an emphasis on celebrity involvement within activism, and the ‘greening’ of products for increased marketability. A compelling argument is made regarding the commoditization of activism, particularly in the chapter ‘*Diamonds (Are from Sierra Leone): Bling and the Promise of Consumer Citizenship*’, leveraged through celebrity activism. However, Banet-Weiser and Mukherjee fail to fully define what is meant by ‘resistance’ (2012, p. 3). In terms of practical application, the term ‘resistance’ is potentially unhelpful due to its quixotic nature. For the purposes of this thesis, it is pertinent to appraise ‘fashion for development’ initiatives as potential sites of commodity activism. A critical lens for evaluation could be an analysis of terminology which views the marketing of fashion products as sites through which ethical and moral identities are exchanged. The ensuing

section makes a brief appraisal of literature concerned with the utilisation of fashion manufacture or artisanal production within development.

2.11. Design for Development

Issues surrounding ‘Design for Development’ will be briefly reviewed below. It was pertinent to discuss the influence of Brown’s *Neo-colonialism in Design for Development* (2013) due to its influence on the formulation of the research topic and the themes prevalent within the discussion relevant to the study of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. Brown’s paper, featured within *Making Futures Journal*, employs discourse analysis to explore ‘presuppositions’ made by designers involved in international development agendas. Language, latent with online discourse and language employed by what Brown describes as “good-willed intentions of self-styled humanitarian designers” (2013a, p. 1), as she questions the impact of the designer within the development agenda. Analysis provided by Brown provides an important stepping stone towards understanding problematic discourses surrounding ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. Design for Development, although usually referring to the practice of designing products *for* the developing world, not unlike C.K Pralahad’s ‘Bottom Billion Capitalism’. However, valuable synergies were found within the over-lapping of these disciplines. Critical analysis of discourse and intention related to neo-colonialism and paternalism latent within the role of the designer in the global South, was highly useful towards employing critical debate within ‘fashion for development’ initiatives.

Brown refers to several contentious articles widely circulated within Design for Development circles, which discuss problematic language, or as Stairs describes ‘hegemonic language’ involved in designer and development (2005). Bruce Nussbaum, Professor of Innovation and Design at Parsons School of Design, describes:

is the new humanitarian design coming out of the U.S. and Europe being perceived through post-colonial eyes as colonialism? Are the American and European designers presuming too much in their attempt to do good? (2010)

We must question the validity of Western designers being ‘dropped’ upon communities in the global South to provide market access and designs palatable to the Western eye. Critical thought surrounding design intervention in the global South proved a useful resource towards bringing a similar rigour to ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. Echoes between commentary provided by Stairs, Brown and Nussbaum hold similar synergies with the beginnings of criticism of ‘fashion for development’ provided by Lamrad and Hanlon (2014) and Ladd (2015). Indeed, Nussbaum’s assertion that ‘... Indian, Brazilian and African designers have important design lessons to teach Western designers?’ (2010) holds remarkable parallels to analysis provided by Poonam Bir Kasturi in *Designing Freedom* (2005). Similar issues are brought forth by Krista Donaldson, in *Ambidextrous Magazine*, *Stanford University’s Journal of Design*, who suggests a first step towards remediation in Design for Development may be aided simply by ‘[broadcasting] your failures...’ and to engage in processes of ‘constructively criticizing’ activity (2008, p. 3). Donaldson suggests that donor-led non-profits actively avoid sharing and distributing information regarding the failures of Design for Development.

Despite discussion throughout the above literature, particularly in the context of industrial strategy for economic development with Design for Development as an alternate method, the fashion designer is excluded. Margolin’s *Design for Development- A Brief History* discusses the historical development of the discipline, using the Ahmedabad Declaration (1979). The place of

the fashion designer is entirely relevant but is excluded, preference is given to the established topics of industrial and product design. However, this does not mean that activity involving the fashion designer is not relevant or practiced, hence the need for rigorous theory examining the role and impact.

2.12. Artisans: Making/Manufacturing for Development

In the absence of literature which explicitly explores the relationship between socially motivated fashion manufacture and international development, synergies between the utilisation of artisanal labour by development NGOs, and/or integration into Fair Trade certification schemes is explored. For the purposes of this research, attention has been paid to studies which explore artisanal labour and its incorporation into fashion markets, as opposed to artisanal crafts for cultural preservation, the tourism industry, and/or interior markets. Despite a current focus on agricultural products by the Fairtrade Foundation, WFTO and Fairtrade International Organisation (FLO), the trade of artisanal craft imported from the Global South represents the longest standing relationship within Fair Trade (Marston, 2012). Developing analogies between artisanal production under Fair Trade terms, and research concerned with ‘slow fashion’ methodologies instigated by Kate Fletcher and Hazel Clark, provided another perspective for the research. Examination of the thematic concerns of the slow fashion movement provided a useful rendering for the research, regarding; ‘transparent production systems’ (Clark, 2008, p. 427), renewed ‘power relations’ between consumer and producer, the valuing of traditional crafted products (Fletcher, 2015), and provision of ‘collaborative/cooperative work’ (Clark, 2008, p. 428).

An appraisal of research concerned with the employment of artisans in Southern nations, leveraged for development purposes, traverses several key areas. A number of researchers question the viability of artisanal production (i.e. small-scale, highly-skilled) to deliver meaningful development benefits (Liebl and Roy, 2003; Liebl and Roy, 2004; Rich-Zendel, 2011; Stenn, 2013; Mason and Doherty, 2016). This is largely evidenced by a lack of robust empirical research which comprehensively demonstrates the economic and/or social impact of such initiatives (Liebl and Roy, 2004). Sarah Rich-Zendel, vociferously critiques the lack of comparative study of female artisans both within and outside of the Fair Trade certification models. Her qualitative study provides valuable insights into the nature of gendered production in Fair Trade, the value of certification, and the plausibility of development benefits delivered by Fair Trade. Other studies suggest artisanal labour may provide an inferior pathway towards development; artisanal handcrafts are indicative of substandard pay despite long working hours, and insufficient opportunity to progress (Dhamija, 1981). Catering to fashion markets is often mentioned as a fickle and ultimately insecure method of securing work for artisanal co-operatives; Grimes and Milgram (2000) and Littrell and Dickson (2010). The equity of the Fair Trade system has been questioned by McArdle and Thomas in *Fair enough? Women and Fair Trade* (2012) alongside Fisher’s *Fair or Balanced? The Other Side of Fair Trade in a Nicaraguan Sewing Cooperative* (2013). They reveal the complex power relations, differing ethical codes, and alternate agendas between development based NGOs and craft retailers.

Similarly, Wilkinson-Weber (1997) suggests the employment of artisans in the informal sector reinforces unhelpful gendered forms of labour. Moreover, Wilkinson-Weber notes the propagation of the ‘lowliness’ of gendered labour, related to the ‘flexibilisation’ of artisanal work. The difficulties of accurately appraising research concerned with artisanal labour is pertinent to address, due to the wide geographical areas in which research is conducted. Community attitudes towards homeworking, barriers to worker organisation and antagonism in

piecework methodologies in Lucknow, India, cannot be necessarily be extrapolated to Nairobi, Kenya, per se. Likewise, Rogerson's (2000) analysis of handicraft in post-apartheid South African, and the value of effective governmental policy in encouraging rural craft development activity, reflects geo-specific causalities concerning South Africa. Rogerson (2000) identifies the key barriers for rural workers to sustained development as; 'markets and marketing, raw material shortages, access to finance, access to technology, managerial weaknesses, and weaknesses in institutional support structures (2000, p. 210).

Two books, *Artisans and Fair Trade: Crafting Development* (2010) and *Social Responsibility in the Global Market: Fair Trade of Cultural Products* (1999) by Littrell and Dickson stand out as robust exemplars of in-depth empirical studies of Fair Trade craft production. They assess both qualitative and quantitative data regarding the socio-economic impacts of development through Fair Trade artisanal work, developing a methodology of deriving the cultural and economic impact. Furthermore, Littrell and Dickson's work stands as an example of fashion academics engaging with wider debates regarding the impact of artisanal inclusion. Most other studies come from an anthropological or business studies background. Littrell and Dickson consider the greater inclusion in fashion markets (i.e. greater volume, greater trade) could mean for the enactment of Fair Trade principles. They grapple with the paradox between; a desire for more work amongst participants, and the potential erosion of Fair Trade principles when adopted at higher volumes in the market. The production of Fair Trade craft products was found to produce valuable results regarding both the capabilities and agency of participants. However, they postulate that wider adoption of Fair Trade methodologies may lead to an erosion of Fair Trade to simply fair price, i.e. 'fair trade lite' (2010, p. 14). Future directions include; setting appropriate business goals (2010, p. 310) (as market-based schemes are dependent on revenues), to varying the product range to increase market desirability in Northern nations (ibid, p. 344). Littrell and Dickson's studies provide concrete evidence of the potential value of ethical production practice (i.e. administered through Fair Trade), to wider development goals. Similar research from Grimes and Milligans' (2000) appraises the incorporation of artisans into alternative trade models. A multi-faceted exploration of the nature of artisanal trade, holistic in its regard of the nuances of artisan co-operatives. Grimes and Milligan adeptly present the internal pressures within artisanal co-operatives, and their overall assessment suggests alternative trade models may effectively bolster both 'ethnic identity and political position' of artisans (2000, p. 5).

However, Andrea Marston's *Justice for all? Material and Semiotic impacts of Fair Trade craft certification*, (2013) provided another side of the debate. Marston reports the detrimental impacts of Fair Trade certification on marginalised workers. Her research originates from two field studies completed in the Ecuadorian Andes with a women's craft co-operative. She reports that high set up costs, the increasing popularity of Fair Trade products pressurised the most vulnerable workers. In responding to increased market demand, less time and resources were available to meet the social impact criteria for artisans. Marston remarks that Northern business expectations placed on Southern producers, were 'laughably disconnected from reality' (2013, p. 166). In addition, she reiterates that labelling of Fair Trade does little to remove commodity fetishism (Marston, 2012, p.162), but rather acts as a further shroud the production of 'exotic' goods (2013, p. 162). The wisdom of employing women in craft collectives for fashion accessories production is touched upon, due to the volatility of Northern fashion markets, but not fully explored by Marston. Therefore, the value of market-led development initiatives, particularly within artisanal craft production, is debatable within current literature.

2.13. Paternalism and the Artisan

The following section briefly reviews literature concerned the artisanal craft production and agency, capability, and paternalism. Paternalism and the artisan, is well theorised by Poonam Bir Kasturi's journal paper *Designing Freedom* (2005), a synthesis of the industrialisation of the craft industry in India. Well informed by his role as designer, cultural researcher and development professional, Bir Kasturi constructs his argument by listing and then systematically addressing several 'myths' regarding craft production in India. He questions the perceived 'need' for outside intervention, particularly that of design help; 'that the craft-person is a passive recipient, and cannot be a co-creator' (2005, p. 71). Ethical concerns regarding fairness appear to be deeply entwined within the dialogue. For human centred development to flourish, it is vital to consider the full implications of the artisan regarding the export of their craft. Bir Kasturi's research overlaps with that of Rosembaun and Goldin (1997) who examined how artisans engage in performing autonomous actions regarding the aesthetics of the products they produce. Katherine Ladd's *A Handmade Future: the impact of design on the production and consumption of contemporary West African craft as a tool for sustainable development*, PhD thesis pushes this further:

That the rural poor of Africa could possibly enjoy any autonomy in their choices for their own livelihoods, that their rejection of the 'dignity' of a career in craft production was based on intelligent, logical reasoning, that they might well consider the life of an artisan boring, repetitive and, more importantly, insecure as an income stream, was simply discounted. (2012, p. 284)

The argument can be mapped from, not 'what shall they do?' and 'is this best?' but rather 'is this what they *want*?'. Regarding these arguments contextually within those examined within Design for Development, creates a body of literature critically engaging with the true purposes of engaging in the global South. A final summation for the research project was found in a case study of women's cooperatives in rural Guatemala by Mary Littrell, in Raynolds and Bennett's *Handbook of Research on Fair Trade* (2015). Notions of agency and ongoing sustainability are explored by Littrell, discussing a Northern designer, "...Mary Anne believed that for the project to become sustainable, she as an outside designer must no longer be essential to its operation' (2015, p. 467). In addition, agency was fostered through the integration of constructive peer critique and basic design skills. Artisans could continue creating new rug designs long after the retreat of the Northern designer. Current research suggests that paternalism must be carefully appraised within 'fashion for development' initiatives.

2.14. Industrialised Garment Manufacture and Development

Many arguments surrounding the topics of fashion and development refer to fashion as a positive agitator towards economic development. Significant research addresses the contribution of the textile and clothing (T&C) industries to economic and social progress in the global South. Keane and te Velde (2008) explore the value of T&C industries in contributing to long-term economic development in the global South. Their study, commissioned by the Overseas Development Institute, provides robust statistical arguments to understanding of the influence of T&C manufacturing in low income countries utilising low labour costs to their advantage. A reliance on low cost manufacturing services from a skills-gap related to design and marketing activities. The prevalence of the T&C industries throughout the global South is understood from the relatively small capital outlays needed to begin production, and the low level of manufacturing skill employed (2008, p. 12). They refer to the T&C industries as the 'first step' towards industrialisation. Brenton and Hoppe's (2007) paper, however, suggests that T&C

industries currently offer reduced value as agitators of economic development due to increased operational barriers. Their research focusses on the potential of industrialised garment manufacture to contribute to development objectives in Africa. They argue that buyer-driven markets, pressures on delivery to fast-fashion markets, competition from India and China, present significant obstacles to countries desiring the development of T&C industries in Africa. Brenton and Hoppe suggest the efficacy of the T&C to enter industrialisation is eroding. Barriers to trade as denoted as follows: high-cost of importing materials due to country of origin legislation, high-cost of bringing products to market, problematic domestic customs operations, weak infrastructure and a lack of efficient trade policy (2007, p. 14). It is suggested that within a buyer-led market preference is given to established centres of industrial garment manufacturing, new manufacturing centres within Africa are at a competitive disadvantage due to poor infrastructure. Catering to fast-fashion markets requires not only the function of industrialised garment manufacture, but appropriate methods of transporting finished goods, and serviceable routes of communication (2007, p. 17). An empirical analysis of garment exports, completed by Brenton and Hoppe, reveals that significant opportunity remains in exporting garments to the US and EU through the exploitation of low labour costs, however only within the context of good domestic governance to overcome trade barriers (ibid, p. 30). The United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) published a report in 2001 by Gereffi and Memedovic investigating export driven industrial garment manufacture as a facilitator of ‘sustained economic growth in developing countries’, in *The Global Apparel Value Chain: What Prospects for Upgrading by Developing Countries*. Robust empirical analysis is available of historic figures regarding garment exports, and the shifting locus of EU and Japanese garment trade. Gereffi and Memedovic conclude, in terms of ‘industrial upgrading’ i.e. moving from low skilled garment manufacture, the greatest opportunity lies in a ‘shift from assembly to full-package production’ (2001, p. 31).

2.15. Engagement with ‘Fashion for Development’

Studies investigating ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, are represented by a small number of local case studies, and largely function to promote the value of fashion led intervention, and lack wider critical analysis of colonial or paternalistic trends within the practice. Literature specifically referencing ‘fashion for development’ initiatives found located in three main areas: academic literature employing analysis from either a Business Studies or sociological perspective, within popular discourse regarding ethical fashion, and amongst reports published from both commercial bodies and NGOs. The research output from these three areas is discussed below, alongside the implications towards the research project.

2.15.1. Reports

Due to the nature of the research topic, there is a profusion of relevant literature published by both the commercial sector and a variety of government bodies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Amalgamating research from both sectors, provided a useful area to review and evaluate perspectives relevant to the research topic, despite the arguable biases of such outputs. Effectively, reports published within the commercial sector are a form of corporate literature, offering a readable synthesis of corporate actions, impacts and results. Relevant reports issued by The Ethical Fashion Source (Mysource Ltd) also fused understanding related to the enactment of sustainable development within fashion; *Africa // A Continent of Sustainable Opportunity 2016/7* and *Shaping the Future of Fashion: Standards & Certifications 2016/17*. Other pertinent protagonists publishing relevant reports include; The

Clean Clothes Campaign (2012), Labour Behind the Label (2017), The Ethical Fashion Forum (2016), and The Ethical Trading Initiative (2017).

A publication from Common Futures, a US based not-for-profit, *Establishing a Humanitarian Entrepreneurial Innovation Space* (2016) by Katie Whipkey and Andrej Verity in collaboration with the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), provided a key justification for the research area and a pertinent departure for the topic. Published to investigate the opportunities potentially offered by entrepreneurship within an international development context, contextualized the relevance of a fashion response. Whipkey and Verity's assert that whilst fostering commercially led fashion innovation would not 'solve a long and complex history of humanitarian crises' (2016, p.6). A fashion-led response, however, could form a relevant option within a 'innovation toolbox' alongside established methods of intervention within aid and development spheres (2016, p.6).

2.15.2. Popular Literature

Finding rigorous research which specifically addressed fashion for development proved difficult, the predominant focus being on consumer uptake and interest in sustainable clothing; such as *The Sustainable Clothing Market: an evaluation of potential strategies for UK retailers* (Goworek et al., 2012) Safia Minney, CEO of People Tree, an organic Fairtrade clothing label and prominent spokesperson in the ethical and sustainable fashion sphere has written several books, such as; *Slave to Fashion* (2017), *Slow Fashion – Aesthetics meets Ethics* (2016) and *Naked Fashion – The New Sustainable Fashion Revolution* (2011). Visionary by nature, Minney is useful for setting out an ambitious strategy towards human-centred sustainable fashion design, and production. However, Minney's books are not aimed at fashion researchers or academics but for the general public, leaving the reader unable to derive thematic or theoretical concerns for fashion for development, for example the discussion regarding Fairtrade is un-nuanced. Rather, Minney's writing provides a relevant 'futuring' of the topic, but lacks robust academic underpinning.

2.15.3. Academic Engagement

The concept of 'fashion for development' appears to be poorly theorized within academic debate, despite notable exceptions (Lamrad and Hanlon, 2014; Root, 2014) Overall there is a lack of well-rounded discussion addressing 'fashion for development' from either a development or fashion studies perspective. There is a small collection of literature which provides small case studies of 'fashion for development', from either a business studies or entrepreneurial basis. Shoma Mukherji and Neer Jain's management case study *Women Empowerment Through Transformational Leadership: Case of Satya Jyoti* (2009) lacks robust theoretical engagement with the topic. They offer an oversimplification of the topic, providing a poorly theorised case study. Choice of expression within Mukerji and Jain's research detracts from legitimate discourse regarding fashion for development, as it is overly positive and emotive, i.e. 'helped to flower' (2009, p. 65). It lacks any analysis concerning the potentially disruptive and neo-colonial influences elicited between women in sewing workshops and the 'Paris based fashion designer' (ibid, p. 68). Similarly, Gardetti and Muthu's *Sustainable Apparel? Is the innovation in the business model? The Case of IOU Project*, (2015) provides a simplistic analysis of sustainable fashion. Arguably, their analysis contributes to unhelpful attitudes towards a romanticisation of craft and rural production, untethered from current literature; 'craftsmanship breathes pride into objects' (2015, p.1), 'hopefully this way of life can continue' (ibid, p.5). There appears to be little writing which actively engages with the myriad

of problems potentially elicited by a ‘fashion for development’ agenda, and employs little critical reflection as to the efficacy towards development objectives. Additionally, much of the literature is formed of individual case studies, lacking wider theorizations towards the topic. Short-term studies such as these do not necessarily show subtle changes over time, and critically lack impact assessment and evidence of long-term viability. Regina Root in *Research Notes: Ethical Fashion- The View from Argentina*, 2014, tentatively addresses the use of artisanal labour in Latin America towards contributing to an ethical fashion framework. She provides useful analysis of social action in a culturally relevant and inclusive environment. However, Roots research notes are *notes*, rather than a full engagement with the topic at hand.

Untangling Fashion for Development by Nadira Lamrad and Mary Hanlon (2014) rests as one of the few texts which examines fashion explicitly within an international development context. The paper provides a pertinent critique of the relationship between fashion and the commoditisation of aid, as promoted through a ‘fashion for development’ entrepreneurship model. (2014, p. 602) *Untangling Fashion for Development* questions whether commodities ‘sold’ entrepreneurship models truly offer a responsible method of consumption, and offers a nuanced evaluation of the ambiguities of ethical consumption and the potential for the model to further an orientalist agenda (ibid, p. 614). Additionally, they make pertinent note of the ‘messianic missions’ (ibid, p. 617) encouraged within the fashion for development model, covered in the ‘patina of virtue and righteousness’ of engaging with impoverished workers (ibid, p. 617). They surmise that within this empowerment lies a series of hidden and unhelpful exchanges of power, ‘negative or positive unintentional signals’ (2014, p. 603). However, an extrapolation of their analysis of the ambiguities of fashion for development businesses to wider development theory is lacking. Further study is needed regarding the effects of the privatisation of development enacted through fashion for development models. As Lamrad and Hanlon reference ‘discourses that link poverty alleviation to a capitalist activity’ to the detriment of critical evaluation of the hidden narratives promoted through such schemes. The analysis provided focusses on online discourses and imagery, through the critical investigation of three different ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. Gathering the voice of businesses operating ‘fashion for development’ schemes, alongside that of development professions would add merit in grounding and contextualizing the topic.

A number of relevant texts arrived late to the research project, namely Soule *et al.*’s (2017) *A Social Enterprise Link in a Global Value Chain: Performance and Potential of a New Supplier Model* and Blattman and Dercon’s (2017) *The impacts of industrial and entrepreneurial work on income and health: Experimental evidence from Ethiopia*. Their results, however, are diametrically opposed. Soule *et al.* (2017) report positive benefits of the integration of a social enterprise in Rwanda, delivering development benefits into the supply chain of US accessories designer, Kate Spade & Company. Whereas, Blattman and Dercon recent research investigating five export-oriented businesses in Ethiopia, suggests that economic wellbeing of workers (of which one fifth were garment workers) did not improve over a twelve-month period. Workers had poorer health outcomes than that of a control group, who continued in agricultural activity or small scale trading. An additional group were provided with an ‘entrepreneurship’ program, and a small ‘start-up’ grant, which raised earnings by 33%. Blattman and Dercon report that ‘when barriers to self-employment were relieved, applicants preferred entrepreneurial to industrial labour’ (2017, p. 1), despite steady hours offered by industrial (garment) employment. Neither address the potential impacts of marketing products manufactured with ‘fashion for development.’

2.16. Conclusions

To conclude, the literature review has navigated a range of topics germane to the research project. A thorough understanding of prior studies concerned with the intentional utilisation of fashion manufacturing practices within international development methodologies has been provided, setting the research in context within the wider trajectory of academic research regarding adjacent topics. Attention has been paid to notions of colonialism, paternalism and neo-colonialism as interpreted within literature concerned with international development, particularly within Fair Trade and Design for Development. An assessment has been made of current thinking concerned with ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, in reference to pro-poor market-based approaches to development. The lack of fashion-specific literature in this area has established the need for further study. There is considerable value in further contextualising ‘fashion for development’ initiatives amongst current practice of international development. The following chapter sets out the research methodology employed to address this gap.

CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out the qualitative methodology utilised within the thesis, the inductive lens through which it was conducted, the three stages of data collection, and the approach used to support the analysis. The three stages of data collection were: a comprehensive literature review, a desktop analysis of a range of e-commerce brands, and an assortment of in-depth interviews conducted amongst professional stakeholders. The chapter is structured to approximately mirror the chronological process undertaken during the MSc research. This section reiterates the lack of prior studies in the area which capture the breadth of activity occurring under ‘fashion for development’ auspices and discusses the ‘borrowing’ of methodological process from other disciplines. Power relations between the researcher and professional stakeholders interviewed will be reviewed, exploring both the nature of the researcher as both insider and outsider, and the influence of ‘elite’ subjects (Vaughan, 2011). This is particularly pertinent as the nature of authority and relationship can have a profound effect on qualitative data collection, and subsequent conclusions. Every endeavour has been made to be as ‘autobiographically conscious’ as possible, so to mitigate against the impeding of data analysis (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990). Ethics applications procedures conducted as part of this research study are included in the latter section of this chapter.

3.2. A Theoretical Underpinning

The inductive lens which characterises the research will be clarified before the research design and subsequent implementation are appraised. The notions of theory and methodology have typically been neglected with research concerned with fashion practice (Flynn and Foster, 2009). Few academic publications specifically address conceptions of theory within academic research concerned with conceptual practice related to fashion and textiles. A reading of Kawamura’s seminal *‘Doing Research in Fashion and Dress’* (2011) was an important departure within the current research, guiding the thesis towards a more flexible and ultimately responsive understanding of theory. Theory generation within the research project is akin to that described by Kawamura as: ‘...statements about how things are connected, and their purpose is to explain and inform us how things are connected, why things happen as they do ...’ (2011, p. 20). Understandings of theory within fashion research are broadly contestable, partly due to the interdisciplinary nature of the multiple topics which fashion reaches, e.g. sociology, material culture, consumption, geography, marketing etc. A key objective of the current research project was to establish steps towards a generation a ‘theory’ regarding ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. The research design was initiated to best collate ongoing assemblage of data. To map or chart the variety of inferences, intentions and practices currently utilised by professional stakeholders and e-commerce brands alike. The inductive process of generating qualitative data within the research project partly reflects the uncharted nature of the research aim. This is emphasised by Stebbins, who deems exploratory research as inductive by nature, and

‘verification is primarily *deductive*’ (2008, p. 328). Deductive research necessitates prior or existing research pathways to test and critically examine, the nature of the current research topic better reflected through an inductive approach:

...inductive research starts with examination of a phenomenon and then from successive examinations of similar and dissimilar phenomena develops a theory to expanding was has studied. (Kawamura, 2011, p. 21)

Theory will appear within the conclusion of the thesis, as a ‘pattern or a generalization that emerges inductively from data collection and analysis’ (Kawamura, 2011, p. 29). Further theorisations which are relevant to the generation of data will be addressed accordingly.

3.3. Research Methodology: A Brief Overview

A brief discussion of the methodology used to analyse data is pertinent at this point. Qualitative content analysis was selected as the most useful method, offering the flexibility described by Schrier to code both ‘latent’ and ‘manifest’ meaning (Cho and Lee, 2014). Qualitative content analysis permitted a utilisation of a mixed methods approach, which is sympathetic to the potential overlapping of deductive and inductive data interpretation (Neuman, 2011). However, the research project cannot be considered entirely inductive, due to the initiation of the literature review prior to primary and secondary data collection.

Grounded Theory was initially considered to provide the most logical methodology for both collecting and analysing data related to ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, due to its value in ‘generating’ theory (Oktay, 2012). However, upon reflection, reading Cho and Lee’s 2014 paper ‘*Reducing Confusion about Grounded Theory and Qualitative Content Analysis: Similarities and Differences*,’ it became apparent that employing a methodology from the perspective of qualitative content analysis was most useful in presenting and retrieving meaning from existing sources (i.e. interview text). In turn, this methodology better supported deciphering meaning within ‘descriptive studies’ (Sandelowski, 2000 in (Cho and Lee, 2014). In addition, as deriving theory was a research objective of the study, care was taken to retain the indicative lens of the project. Thus allowing the theory to originate from the findings was desirable, as not to colour or prematurely halt the data collection process (Kawamura, 2011).

Utilizing data collated from both online sources and interviews conducted within the research period provided a richness and helpful variety to the research topic. The nature of collecting data posted publically online is an ‘unobtrusive’ method (Cho and Lee, 2014). Engagement in research design which allows for the process of ‘triangulation’ between data has enabled a ‘diminished researcher bias in the data and the likelihood of misinterpretation when checking the findings against various data sources and perspectives’ (Cho and Lee, 2014). The following section will address how data was generated.

3.4. Data Generation

3.4.1. Desktop Research – E-commerce platforms

The desktop research was conducted to speedily acquire data which could be analysed to initially map the discourse employed by ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, and to locate areas which required more in-depth analysis. It was initially considered a supplementary element of the research design, providing an early ‘broadening’ of the topic. Additionally,

allowing for the progression of the research project when accessibility, time constraints of interviewees, and trepidation regarding the intent of academic research delayed access to professional stakeholders. However, the unanticipated wealth of information retrieved during the desktop research has over the period of MSc research, formed a key element of the analysis.

3.4.2. Sample

As the research is concerned with ‘widening’ the discourse, fifteen fashion retailers were analysed to represent the breadth of brands currently utilising ‘development’ as a marketing or production motif. The primary eligibility criterion required brands to explicitly detail their intent to engage in international development issues through the retail of fashion products. A specification was not placed on the nature of international development ‘issues’ being tackled, as these remain ambiguous amongst most retailers. Those described in Lamrad and Hanlon (2014) study, for example, range from; heritage craft preservation, economic development, health initiatives, to female empowerment. However, an important departure from that the Lamrad and Hanlon 2014 study, is that all fashion brands analysed primarily described their development benefit leveraged as the provision of employment or training, i.e. a ‘trade not aid’ methodology. This is most simply put as products retailed by brands were produced by those being developed, i.e. beneficiaries. The study makes a small clarification between the retail of ‘fashion for development’ products which trigger donations towards international development issues (i.e. cause-related marketing, see Hawkins, 2012a; Hawkins, 2012b; Ponte and Richey, 2014), and ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. Fashion for development initiatives or schemes are understood within the current study, as providing development benefits through the retail of goods produced by ‘beneficiaries’.

As a method of collecting a variety of sources within the population for research, using an internet search engine was initially utilized to create a sample population. However, due to the inherent lack of cohesive understanding of fashion brands and manufacturers actions within the development sphere, a keyword search offered poor results. The use of a search engine for the creation of a population was problematic, as it influenced by the researchers’ keyword search, the content/SEO optimization of different websites, the popularity of certain companies, and the influence of search engine algorithms.

The next avenue to create a population of fashion brands and manufacturers to study was by utilizing the search engine on ‘Ethical Fashion Forum.’ However, appropriate search terms retrieved few useful results. Therefore, a non-probability sampling method employed – most useful for study, and qualitative research (Mogashoa, 2014). Clusters of different actions/ types of business involved in ‘fashion for development’ were identified. To minimize bias, this cluster of options encourages transparency in case selection, triangulation, and seeking out of disconfirming evidence (Mogashoa, 2014). The sample is a product of ‘purposeful sampling’ it eventually was most appropriate to select fifteen organisations under each description of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives to showcase the breadth of engagement, previously identified.

3.4.3. Instrument – Data Collection

Data was originally collected in an Excel spreadsheet under the following headings: name, type of organisation, affiliated with, certifications, country of manufacture, target market, domestic markets, number of employees, size of business, impact assessment, level of traceability, celebrity endorsement, e-commerce, aims and objectives, CSR, temporary or permanent

collection, development benefits, articulation or description of founder, media coverage. A synthesis of this information is found in *Table 2. Selection of 'Fashion for Development' Initiatives*, in Chapter Four. Textual sources from these fifteen websites were then captured, efforts were made to collect comparable web pages from each e-commerce site. A title page, mission page, product information page, and a CSR/or development giving page was collected from each e-commerce site identified for further content analysis. The text from these pages was imported into QSR InVivo 6. The categorisation is mindful of articulating the organisational structure of brands involved, the nature of relations made with beneficiaries (i.e. supplier vs subsidiary), and the offering made to beneficiaries through the social mandate of the brand. To qualify as a representative case a 'fashion for development', brands needed to explicitly reference poverty alleviation or a related international development cause on their e-commerce platform (i.e. designated website).

The plethora of easily accessible data through the world-wide-web (WWW) positions online content/discourse analysis as a remarkable opportunity for researchers to 'gain access to previously inaccessible or prohibitively expensive data' (Weare and Lin, 2000). A number of papers illustrate the value of the WWW towards providing a resource of easily accessible data for content analysis; Kim and Kuljais (2010), Lai and To (2015), Herring (2010) and Weare and Lin (2000). Kim and Kuljais surmise that:

...most studies concerned with attitudes, preferences, opinions, and behaviour of users, whether in social sciences, human-computer interaction or in other disciplines, can benefit from the free Web content. (2010, p. 369).

The value and precedent of examining 'fashion for development' discourses from online platforms exists, but nonetheless also proved problematic. The sheer size of the WWW and number of changeable platforms hosted within it 'complicate efforts to select representative samples of messages for analysis' (2000, p. 273) noted by Weare and Lin. Currently, no comprehensive picture of the 'fashion for development' landscape exists, therefore deriving an appropriate population and sample for the research proved difficult. Despite the purposing of the WWW as an effective source for facilitating appropriate population samples. Without a collective database from which to draw a sample, purposeful sampling was employed despite various attempts to avoid this option. Sampling for proportionality, however, was not the concern of the research, rather assessing the implications and efficiencies of brands and manufacturers actively engaging in fashion for development initiatives or methods. The following section addressed how the interviews with professional stakeholders were conducted.

3.5. Interviews

3.5.1. Sample

Twenty-five professional stakeholders were originally identified and contacted between March-April 2017, of which four responded. The primary eligibility criterion required participants to be intentionally participating in the use of fashion manufacture to aid development issues. Purposeful sampling techniques were utilised to determine 'strategically' useful participants (Patton, 2002, p. 243), to reflect the range of activities operating under the auspices of 'fashion for development' initiatives. As 'fashion for development' initiatives remain a periphery issue amongst the wider fashion industry, a more comprehensive sample industry professionals would not have been profitable to the research. The cohort originally contacted were identified during wider reading, typically from industry reports and/or industry-specific websites (EcoTextile,

Business of Fashion, JustStyle), and social media. Several professional stakeholders responded by detailing they were unavailable for interview due to time constraints or international travel. Interviewees were engaged in a range of activities relevant to 'fashion for development' initiatives, including; trade facilitation, international development charities, Fair Trade organisations, and small-scale garment manufacturing units on the African continent.

Later, opportunistic snowball sampling was utilised to identify potential research participants, as interviewees became galvanised over the research topic and recommended me onto further professionals (Creswell, 2007, p. 159). A personal introduction appeared to be the most successful method for contacting professional stakeholders.

Interviews were conducted from May-July 2017. Four interviews were conducted whilst attending a conference titled '*Fashion Africa Conference 2017 – Africa Fashions' Future*' from May 25-26, 2017. The conference was held in London, England. Two subsequent interviews were conducted over the phone, from Heriot-Watt University in Galashiels, Scotland. These participants were based in London and Dublin respectively, limited research funds necessitated the use of phone interviews. One interview was conducted over Skype, this interviewee was also located in London, England. The interviews ranged from thirty minutes to an hour and a half long, depending on the participants' availability, and were recorded, then transcribed. Several participants have been anonymised, following their wishes.

3.5.2. Instrument – Interviewing

Within social science research, semi-structured or in-depth interviews are used to gather the opinions and experiences of participants (Creswell, 2007). Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to delve 'beneath the skin' of the topic; to more fully understand how international development was viewed as a goal or opportunity by both fashion and development practitioners alike. As the current research project is concerned with semi-structured in-depth interviews were selected as an appropriate method through which to gather similar types of responses, but to additionally allow space for original and insightful responses to naturally appear. They also allowed space for the expert nature of interviewees to be fully utilised, i.e. participants could interject with responses beyond the scope of the original question. An interview schedule is accessible in Appendix B.1.

The research was largely approached from a 'hermeneutic' lens (Crouch and Pearce, 2013) with regards to the interpretation and understandings deriving from the data collection. Crouch's understanding of hermeneutic 'interpretive' approach provided a useful approach to the 'negotiating meaning with the interviewee' (Crouch and Pearce, 2013). Personal worldview "influence[s] the way questions [are] asked or interpreted," it is only partially possible to escape this interference within narrative interview research (Ary *et al.*, 2009). It was necessary to be "autobiographically conscious" in understanding how researchers worldview colours the research, and the possible limitations of semi-structured interviews (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990).

3.5.3. Ethical Protocol

Prior to commencing the interview portion of the study, an ethical application was made, clearance was sought from the Research Ethics panel at Heriot-Watt University, which was received in March 2017. Copies of the Informed Consent form and Plain Language Statement are included in Appendix B.2. All interviewees were provided with a 'Plain Language

Statement' prior to the initiation of the interview, typically one week prior to the commencement of the interview. Several interviewees initiated a further discussion over email prior to the agreed interview date, the source of research funding featured heavily amongst concerns raised. Three interviewees discussed the positive impact they felt the interview may have on their organisational image. Consent was retrieved from all interviewees prior to the interview. Due to time constraints on interviewees, this was typically achieved in an initial dialogue, i.e. a short discussion prior to the beginning of the interview. The three interviewees who were interviewed over the phone or by Skype said they were too busy to sign and return copies of Informed Consent. Therefore in lieu, confirmatory emails were sent, or verbal agreement was recorded. Copies of these emails are also included in Appendix B.2, as are the time signatures of verbal agreements.

Interviewees were asked if a digital recording may be made of their contribution, six interviewees agreed to this. Digital recordings were captured through the 'Voice Memo' App on an Apple iPhone or using an Olympus Digital Voice Recorder DS-2. Recordings were stored securely on an external hard drive throughout the course of the research, avoiding uploading to the insecure medium of the 'Cloud'. One interviewee said that their organisational policy prohibited the recording of interviews, whether for journalistic or academic research. In this case, shorthand notes were made throughout the course of the interview, following the agreement of the interviewee. Interviewees received no payment in return for their contributions. Efforts were made to find neutral spaces in which to conduct face-to-face interviews, i.e. not in a space 'belonging' to either researcher or professional stakeholder, to achieve a more equitable discussion. Several interviewees requested to view the quotations utilised within the findings prior to the completion of the research. The majority were approved by the interviewees, however, one requested to adjust the tone and quality of expressions made. Their contributions were adjusted, but original meaning was not.

3.6. Power Dynamics

It is pertinent to briefly address shifting power dynamics between privileged researcher and industry professional. Four interviews were conducted whilst attending a conference titled 'Fashion Africa Conference 2017 – Africa Fashions' Future' in May 2017. Most attendees appeared to be networking for commercial purposes, placing the researcher at times in an uncomfortable position. Academic study or research felt at times an incongruous addition to conference proceedings, and at points disruptive to interviewees, despite the pre-arranged nature of the interviews. Steven Vaughan's chapter on 'Elite and Elite-lite Interviewing' in *Researching Sustainability – A Guide to Social Science Methods, Practice and Engagement* (2011) by Franklin and Blyton, proved a useful resource for structuring and understanding shifting power dynamics when both initially contacting and interviewing interviewees. He comments on the perilous nature of the 'elite' interview, that it's true difficulty lies in the necessary apprehension of the interview appointment, which he describes as 'there is only really 'one bite of the cherry'' (2011, p. 110). Attendance at the 'Fashion Africa Conference 2017' provided this necessary window to contact and interview such 'elites' outside of the typical working day, somewhat away from time constraints.

3.7. Method of Analysis

Data collected from both interviews and desktop research was examined as a form of qualitative content analysis. To make a thematic assessment of both interviews and the desktop research retrieved, the ‘raw’ data was synthesised and ‘coded’. Coding within qualitative analysis:

...is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data. (Saldaña, 2016, p. 3)

This initially took the form of short phrases to longer sentences within the data, which were labelled to ‘represent and capture a datum’s primary content and essence.’ (Saldaña, 2016, p. 3) It was repeated across interview transcripts/notes, and performed in a comparative iterating fashion, to accurately express similarities and contrasts within the data. According to Saldaña, this is a form of pattern-making (2016, p. 5). Coding is generally considered a heuristic task, i.e. the coding process is analysis in and of itself. The results reported in the following chapter Findings chapter express this coding process.

The desktop programming suite QSR InVivo 6 was utilized to collate and analyse data, allowing the researcher to simultaneously view ‘codes’ and interview transcripts/e-commerce data, this was considered a form of open coding. At times, a ‘pencil and paper strategy’ was utilised for coding interview data, physically handling and sorting through thematic statements enabled an enhanced experience of the synergies and contrasts within the data (Bazeley, 2013, p. 132).

3.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has endeavoured to provide transparency to the research process, to establish the veracity and reliability of the subsequent findings and analysis. The theoretical lens through which the research was conducted has been explained and laid out the three methods of data collection utilised. A brief explanation of the data coding and analysis process has also been provided. The following chapter will go on to present the research findings. These results will be presented in three sections; depiction of organisational structures found across both e-commerce brands, and professional stakeholders interviewed, an examination of the themes discussed by professional stakeholders, and an analysis of the content displayed on e-commerce sites.

CHAPTER 4 – RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 introduces the findings of the research, presented in three sections, informed by the research design and methodology proposed in the previous chapter (Chapter 3). The first section of the findings provides an overarching analysis of the data collected, informed by both interviews conducted and the e-commerce brands surveyed. The amalgamation of results from interviews conducted and the analysis of e-commerce brands develops a broader and more comprehensive illustration of current practice. The second section of the findings presents a discourse analysis of interviews conducted with professional stakeholders involved with ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. Synergies between the stakeholders interviewed paint a remarkable interpretation of; the current role of fashion manufacture within development, challenges, and future possibilities. The third section puts forth an expository content analysis of the online discourse of fifteen e-commerce brands broadly engaged in ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. A deeper evaluation of all the results is included within the discussion section of this thesis (Chapter 5).

4.2. Section 1: Organisational Structures of Stakeholders, Brands, and Charitable Actors

The following section will address the organisational structure of the corporations, commercial enterprises or charitable bodies through whom the stakeholders interviewed are employed, or latterly own. Where applicable, funding structures have been included. Comprehending how international development is enacted by and through fashion manufacture, i.e. by examining organisational structures, is germane to both the research topic and negotiations of international development alike. A broad overview of the organisational structure of stakeholders and brands is accessible in Table 1. (stakeholders) and Table 2. (e-commerce brands). An initial presentation is made of the professional stakeholders interviewed, and funding sources employed. Following this, several illustrations have been generated to represent the complexities of actors, both commercial and charitable, engaging with fashion manufacture as a tool for international development. In addition, a deeper analysis of the organisational structures of both professional stakeholders and e-commerce brands has been completed, presenting the varying methodologies utilised for both generating development impact, and funds through which to complete such actions. A key point for reflection during the analysis was the articulation of dependency, empowerment of beneficiaries, and the methodologies employed by such actors to ensure their delivery.

4.2.1. Professional Stakeholders

An initial categorisation of professional participants who were interviewed throughout the course of the research project is displayed in Table 1. Attention has been paid to identifying; the intent of organisational operations, organisational structure, the social mandate of commercial/charitable activities, and the methodology employed (i.e. trade facilitation of fashion enterprises, skills acquisition, external funder etc.). A number of stakeholders have been anonymized.

Table 1. Professional Actors Interviewed

ID nr.	Name of Organisation	Job Title of Interviewee	Organisational Structure	Purpose of Organisation	Organisational Partner/ Non-profit Involved	Location of Operations	Operational HQ	Product (if applicable)	Social Mandate (Benefits Provided)	Impact Reporting
1	Proudly Made in Africa (PMIA)	Director	NGO	Trade Facilitator	Irish Aid, Trocaire, Concern Worldwide, Gorta, Trade Mark East Africa	African Continent	Dublin, IRL	Value Added Exports (Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Beer, Cotton and Leather Accessories, Fashion Garments)	Business Development Support (Pricing, Packaging, Branding, Distribution, Market Research), Sourcing Consultancy, Market Access, Business Networking in Africa, Marketing and Packaging Design	Comprehensive Annual Financial and Impact Reporting (Bi-Annual)
2	Trade Facilitator B	CEO and Director	Commercial Enterprise	Trade Facilitator		Ghana, Benin, Kenya, Swaziland, South Africa, Turkey, China	London, UK Accra, Ghana	Men and Women's Garments	Sourcing Consultancy, Production Management Support, Product Development, Raw Material/Trims Sourcing, Quality Control, Logistics Facilitation	N/A No publicly accessible information
3	Kenyan Manufacturer A	CEO and Director	Separate Charitable Organisation and Commercial Enterprise	Support sustainable livelihoods through garment manufacture	DFID, Commonwealth Funding, ASOS	Kenya	London, UK	Women's Garments (Knitwear, Apparel, Accessories)	Employment, Facilitated by charitable trust 'Stitching Academy' - Skills Training (Garment Manufacture), Lunch, Healthcare Benefits, Childcare, Leadership and Communications Training, Entrepreneurial Skills, Environmental Support (Waste Reduction, Renewable Energy)	N/A No Publicly Accessible Information
4	Malawian Manufacturer B	CEO and Director	Separate Charitable Organisation and Commercial Enterprise	Support Entrepreneurial Skills Acquisition (Skills Based Learning) for Development purposes // Employment through commercial enterprise	Sunny Money Malawi, Solar Aid, The Unmentionables, We Care Youth, Natural Resources Committee, Platform of Fashion Schools (Milan), TEVETA, Soulie	Malawi	London, UK	Women's Garments (Apparel, Accessories)	Employment, Entrepreneurial training, Training (Garment Construction, Bee Keeping), Educational Benefits, Micro-Credit, Accounting and Computer skills, Childcare for employees, Lunch, Financial Literacy Skills, Vocational Qualifications, Entrepreneurial training - Health Support (menstrual supplies), Environmental Support (Waste Reduction, Renewable Energy)	'Impact' Facts, no dates

Table 2. (Continued)

ID nr.	Name of Organisation	Job Title of Interviewee	Organisational Structure	Purpose of Organisation	Organisational Partner/ Non-profit Involved	Location of Operations	Operational HQ	Product (if applicable)	Social Mandate (Benefits Provided)	Impact Reporting
5	Traidcraft	Senior Policy Advisor	Separate Development Charity – 'Traidcraft Exchange' to Commercial Enterprise 'Traidcraft plc'	Development Charity / Public Limited Company trading Fair Trade goods with the UK	Big Lottery Funding, DFID, Comic Relief, PACS Programme, European Commission	Across South East Asia, Latin America and the African Continent	London, UK. Newcastle, UK	Commodities such as: Coffee, Sugar, Crafts etc.	Support Commodity Suppliers, Trade Fair Trade Goods, Entrepreneurial Training, Wellness Awareness, Environmental Protection, Gender Equality Training, Smallholder/Artisan Empowerment, Policy and Campaigns in UK	Comprehensive Annual Financial and Impact Reporting
6	African Foundation for Development (AFFORD)	Director of Engagement and Policy	Charity	Diaspora Finance/ Development SME Investment/Support	DFID, Comic Relief, Reed Smith, European Commission, Rockefeller Foundation, Africa-Europe Platform	Sub-Saharan Africa	London, UK	N/A	Business Development Support, Access to Banking, Remittance Skill Exchange, Tax Relief on Remittances, Remittances for Business Development of SMEs	Some impact literature available on website
7	Ghanaian Manufacturer C	CEO	Commercial Enterprise	Clothing Manufacturer	Key client of Trade Facilitator B Received funding from USAID	Accra, Ghana	Accra, Ghana	Women's Garments (Apparel, Accessories)	Employment (Living Wage), Training (Garment Construction)	N/A No publicly accessible information

4.2.2. Desktop Analysis – E-commerce Brands

A secondary data search selected fifteen e-commerce brands based in the Global North utilising fashion manufacture or employment within fashion supply chains as a key method of alleviating or aiding international development causes. The e-commerce platforms of all brands reviewed represent examples of market-based solutions to international development issues, through the employment or apprenticing of beneficiaries into GVCs. The initial classification of brands analysed within the desktop research is displayed in Table 2.

Table 2. Selection of 'Fashion for Development' Initiatives

ID nr.	Name of Brand	Organisational Partner/ Non-profit Involved	Organisational Structure/Type	CSR Activity or Operational Mission	Manufacturing Location	Operational HQ	Product	Supplier vs Subsidiary	Social Mandate (Benefits Provided)	Impact Reporting	Celebrity Endorserment
1	Krochet Kids	none	Social Enterprise	Mission	Peru, Uganda	Costa Mesa, CA	Accessories (Knit, Leather goods, T-Shirts)	Subsidiary	Employment, Educational Benefits, Micro-Credit, Entrepreneurial Training, Mentorship	Impact Infographics provided / Financial Accounts accessible	none
2	Seko Sandals	none	Social Enterprise	Mission	Uganda	Portland, OR	Leather shoes	Subsidiary + sell some products sourced from other businesses in East Africa	Employment (9mth contracts to enable HIE education of high school students), University Scholarships, Market Access to Ethiopian Suppliers	N/A No publicly accessible information	Sophia Bush
3	People Tree	Fair Trade Foundation, DFID Funding	Commercial Enterprise	Mission	India, Bangladesh, Kenya, Nepal	London, UK	Women's Garments (Knitwear, Apparel, Accessories)	Supplier	Employment, Market Exposure Program for suppliers, Fair Trade Certified (suppliers receive fair wage and 'social premium' for community based products)	Intensive 'Social Review' - Results are peer reviewed by WFTO	Emma Watson, Jo Wood, Orla Kiely, Zandra Rhodes, Peter Jensen, Vivienne Westwood
4	Mayamiko	Sunny Money Malawi, Solar Aid, The Unmentionables, We Care Youth, Natural Resources Committee, Platform of Fashion Schools (Milan), TEVETA, Soulie	Separate Charitable Organisation - 'Mayamiko' and Commercial Enterprise 'Mayamiko The Label'	Mission	Malawi	London, UK	Women's Garments (Apparel, Accessories)	Subsidiary	Employment, Entrepreneurial training, Training (Garment Construction, Bee Keeping), Educational Benefits, Micro-Credit, Accounting and Computer skills, Childcare for employees, Lunch, Financial Literacy Skills, Vocational Qualifications, Entrepreneurial training, Health Support (menstrual supplies)	'Impact' Facts, no dates	none
5	ABURY	UNESCO, Astraia Female Leadership Foundation	Separate Charitable Organisation 'ABURY Foundation' and Commercial Enterprise 'ABURY'	Mission	Ecuador, India, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Morocco, Peru, Romania, Tanzania	Berlin, Germany	Women's Accessories and Leather Goods	Unclear	Operate under 'fair trade' model (suppliers receive fair wage and 'social premium' for community based products). Children's Education, Women's Empowerment, Community Development, Computer Skills, Cultural Preservation	N/A No publicly accessible information	none

ID nr.	Name of Brand	Organisational Partner/ Non-profit Involved	Organisational Structure/Type	CSR Activity or Operational Mission	Manufacturing Location	Operational HQ	Product	Supplier vs Subsidiary	Social Mandate (Benefits Provided)	Impact Reporting	Celebrity Endorserment
6	EDUN	ITC UN EFI, Invisible Children, Cotton Conservation Initiative CCIU, Techno Serve	Commercial Enterprise	Mission	Madagascar, Kenya, USA	New York City, NY	Women's Garments (Apparel, Accessories)	Supplier	Employment	N/A No publicly accessible information	Bono and Ali Hewson
7	Ace and Jig	none	Commercial Enterprise	Mission	India	Brooklyn, NY and Portland, OR	Women's Garments	Supplier	Employment - Operate under 'fair trade' model (suppliers receive fair wage and 'social premium' for community based products).	N/A No publicly accessible information	none
8	Brother Vellies	ITC UN EFI	Commercial Enterprise	Mission	South Africa, Ethiopia, Kenya and Morocco	Brooklyn, NY	Leather Goods	Supplier	Employment, Skills Training	N/A however, impact reporting of Brother Vellies suppliers available on ITC UN EFI website	none
9	Khama	Micro Enterprise Africa, UK Lottery Funding	Social Enterprise (employee owned)	Mission	Kasungu, Malawi	London, UK	Women's Garments (Apparel, Accessories)	Supplier (cooperatives)	Employment, Skills Training, Entrepreneurial Skills Training,	N/A No publicly accessible information	none
10	Della	Urban Outfitters	Commercial Enterprise	Mission	Ghana	Los Angeles, CA	Women's Garments	Subsidiary	Employment, Skills Training, Education (Literacy, Financial Management), Healthcare Benefits, Leadership Skills,	Impact Infographics – no dates	none
11	Vivienne Westwood	ITC UN EFI	Commercial Enterprise	CSR Activity	Nairobi, Kenya	London, UK	Women's Accessories and Leather Goods	Supplier	Employment, Some Skills Training	N/A No publicly accessible information	Vivienne Westwood
12	Stella McCartney	ITC UN EFI	Commercial Enterprise	CSR Activity	Nairobi, Kenya	London, UK	Women's Accessories and Leather Goods	Supplier	Employment, Some Skills Training	N/A however, impact reporting of Stella McCartney suppliers available on ITC UN EFI website	Stella McCartney
13	ASOS Made in Kenya	none	Commercial Enterprise	CSR Activity	Voi, Kenya	London, UK	Women's Garments	Supplier (SOKO Kenya – Joanna Maiden)	Employment, Skills Training, Lunch, Healthcare Benefits, Childcare, Leadership and Communications Training, Funded Stitching Academy (Skills Based Training and Entrepreneurial Skills)	N/A No Publicly Accessible Information	Michelle Obama wore a SOKO Kenya skirt

ID nr.	Name of Brand	Organisational Partner/ Non-profit Involved	Organisational Structure/Type	CSR Activity or Operational Mission	Manufacturing Location	Operational HQ	Product	Supplier vs Subsidiary	Social Mandate (Benefits Provided)	Impact Reporting	Celebrity Endorserment
14	SOKO Kenya	DFID, Commonwealth Funding, ASOS	Separate Charitable Organisation – ‘Stitching Academy’ and Commercial Enterprise ‘SOKO Kenya’	Mission	Voi, Kenya	London, UK	Women’s Garments	Subsidiary (Supplier to Domestic and Export Markets i.e. ASOS is a client)	Facilitated by charitable trust ‘Stitching Academy’ - Employment, Skills Training, Lunch, Healthcare Benefits, Childcare, Leadership and Communications Training, Skills Based Training, Entrepreneurial Skills	N/A No Publically Accessible Information	Michelle Obama wore a SOKO Kenya skirt
15	LK Bennett Kosovo	Women for Women International	Commercial Enterprise	CSR Activity	Kosovo, Spain	London, UK	Leather Goods	Charitable Partner	Short Term Employment, Charitable Donation, WWI Funds Financial Literacy, Basic Educational Benefits, Mentoring, Skills Training	N/A	N/A

4.2.3. Understanding Data Collected

A preliminary illustration (Figure 1) has been made to clarify the position of various stakeholders examined within the research, to elucidate a more contextually relevant understanding of actors involved within ‘fashion for development’.

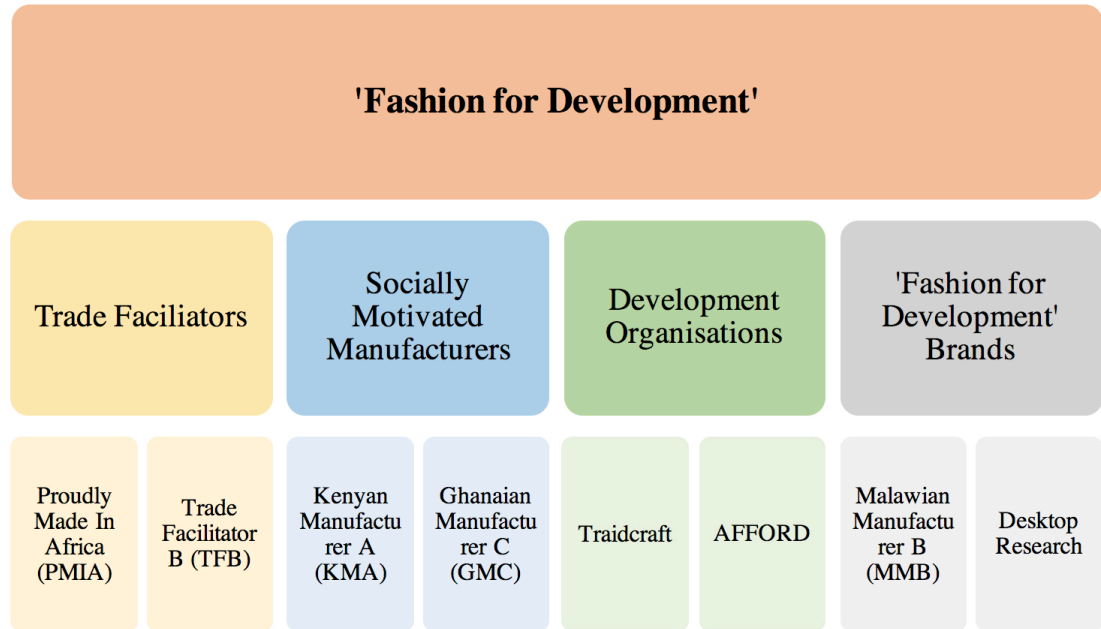


Figure 1: Black, J. 2017. *Understanding Data Collected: Professional Stakeholders Interviewed*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

The above illustration provides a simplified explanation of how the professional participants interviewed and e-commerce brands analysed within the desktop research connect. The research suggested there were many constituent elements of ‘fashion for development’ methodologies and actors. The diversity amongst stakeholders engaging in ‘fashion for development’ practices became clear. These varied from traditional development agencies, such as Traidcraft, to charitable trade facilitators like Proudly Made in Africa (PMIA), to newer entrants such as the commercial ‘ethical agent’ Trade Facilitator B (TFB). As demonstrated in the literature review, defining the use of trade within development remains a contestable and circular topic. The interactions between the use of corporate CSR methodologies, philanthropy, market-based trade initiatives, charitable enterprises and market-led structures such as Prahalad’s ‘bottom of the pyramid’ approaches (Pralhad and Hart, 2002), merge and muddy the water, making clear assertions of corporate structures complex. A more nuanced analysis of relationships between various stakeholders will be made clear in the ensuing presentation of results.

4.2.4. Professional Stakeholders: Organisational Structures

The following illustration (Figure 2) presents the varied categories of professionals interviewed, and a basic outline of their organisational structures. Funding sources identified by interviewees are additionally included. Data displayed with the following diagrams has been retrieved from the interviews themselves. However, where the interviewees could not recall exact figures themselves publically accessible data was supplemented (i.e. corporate websites, Company House, etc.).

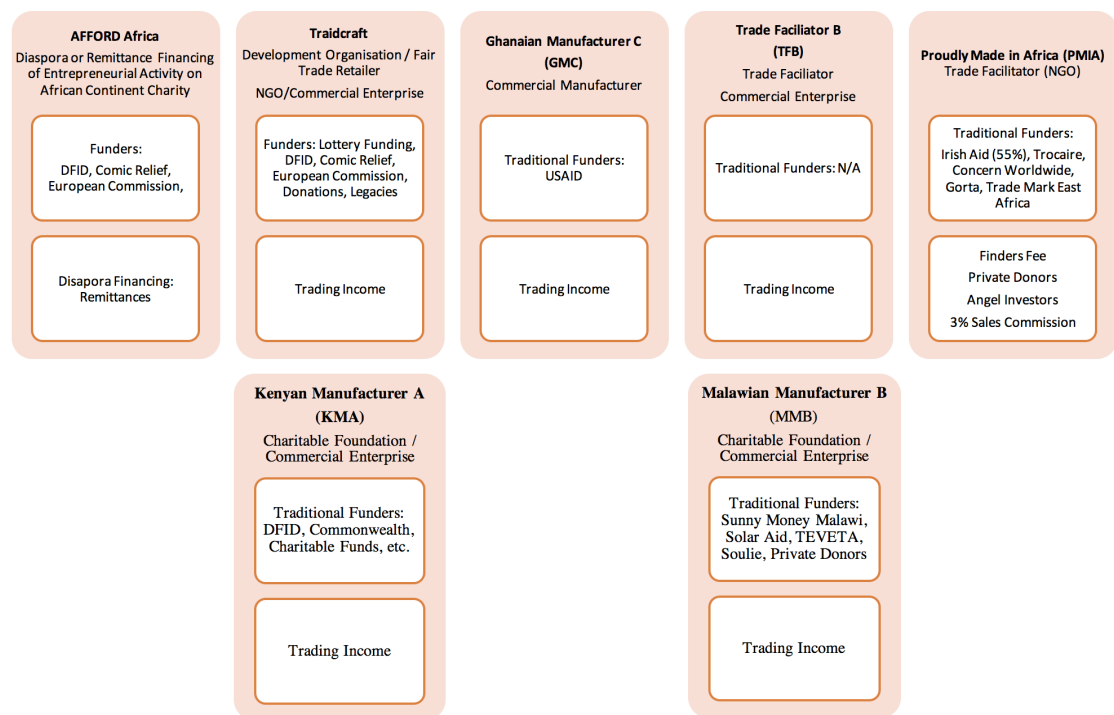


Figure 2: Black, J. 2017. *Funding Streams of Professional Stakeholders*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black.

A majority of interviewees (5/7) directly employ or trade with beneficiaries of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives in the Global South and a minority (2/7) provide support for those who do. As part of the battery of questions (see Appendix B.1.), interview participants were asked to conceptualise the value of fashion manufacture within the development sphere. This question elicited varied responses; however, the principal reply concerned the merit of fashion manufacturing as a generator of employment. Almost all interviewees (6/7) explicitly indicated the provision of waged work as the chief contribution to development leveraged by fashion manufacture, more comprehensive reporting of interviewee responses is included in Section 2 of this chapter. Several organisations (5/7) financed development activity by operating commercial enterprises (i.e. trading income), however, exact figures were not made available to the researcher. The organisational structure of three organisations were manifested as commercial enterprises which operate concurrently with separate charitable foundation, which is utilised to fulfil the social mandate of the organisation. A deeper review of the hybrid commercial/charitable amalgamation will be discussed in the following section (see Figure 3 overleaf).

4.2.5. Funding of Organisations

A clear majority organisations (6/7), through which interviewees are employed or latterly owned, were candidates for traditional sources of development or aid financing. e.g. grants overseen by DFID, Irish Aid and Comic Relief. Traditional funding sources, classically refered to as governmental assistance and charitable giving, as identified by Adelman, embodied in the ‘donor-to-recipient’ model (2009, p. 23). Adelman latterly discusses the ‘reinvention’ of foreign aid, characterised by private financial ‘flows’ to the Global South, by means of: ‘philanthropy, remittances and private investment’ (2009, p. 23). Almost two-thirds of interviewees receive donations from either private individuals or larger corporate bodies (i.e. KMA’s ‘Stitching Academy’ receives funding from the corporate giving budget of UK retailer ASOS). Just over half of participants (4/7) relied on some form of private investment to initiate their commercial

enterprises. A large proportion of interviewees (6/7) were engaged in some form of collaboration with external charities, the interaction typified by either the provision of support or funding more. More detailed information regarding funding sources and charitable collaborations is accessible in Table 1. AFFORD Africa directly harnesses remittances made to the African continent by redirecting them to entrepreneurial support and business development funding made to SMEs on the African continent (of which three are in the fashion and textiles sector). Overall, these results suggest that although all interviewees detailed their response to development needs were primarily forms of market-based intervention, i.e. the provision of employment. Traditional sources of funding continue to be contextually relevant, i.e. DFID, European Commission, USAID, donations and legacies. Only one organisation did not disclose funding sources exclusive of trading income. The implications of these findings will be discussed in Chapter Five.

4.2.6. E-commerce Brands: Organisational Structures

Three organisations (3/15) explicitly defined themselves as social enterprises, framing the primacy of addressing ‘development’ issues through commercial trading activity. The larger majority of organisations (9/15) reviewed within the desktop research refer to themselves as commercial operations (Private Limited Companies). Three (3/15) brands were found to be operating commercial/charitable hybrids (see Figure 6 overleaf), mirroring the organisational structure of three of the stakeholders interviewed. The nuances between these organisational structures will be presented below.

4.2.7. The Charitable Commercial Hybrid

Amongst both interviews and desktop research, six brands were found to be operating commercial garment manufacturing activities under Fair Trade conditions alongside separate charitable foundations. Charitable foundations were described, by professional stakeholders interviewed as necessary to enable the fulfilment of wider development desires of the brand or manufacturing unit (2/7). Three (3/7) organisations operate commercial enterprises concurrently with a charitable foundation, Traidcraft, Kenyan Manufacturer A (KMA), and Malawian Manufacturer B (MMB). Both KMA and MMB were initiated as social enterprises but latterly devolved to the hybrid construction (see. Figure 3).

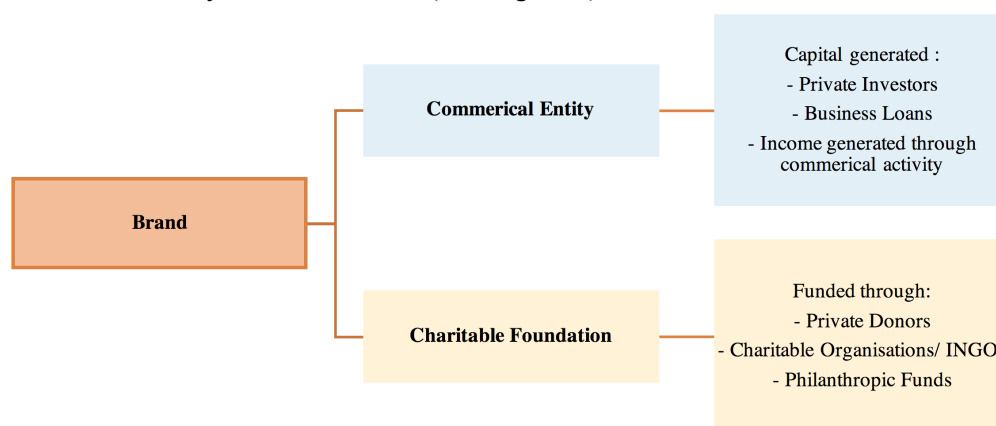


Figure 3: Black, J. 2017. *The Charitable Commercial Hybrid*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

Smith described the reorganisation of KMA as a necessary adjustment to improve the commercial standing of the organisation, development was enacted as an external activity. Traidcraft historically has been constructed through the amalgamation of separate commercial

and charitable entities, which share corporate values and senior management staff. This organisational structure was mirrored in the desktop research, which found three (3/15) brands operating commercial/charitable hybrids.

However, it is not possible to conclusively comment on how brands/businesses are meeting the social mandate of their operations. Few brands analysed within the desktop research made clear assertions on how social or environmental targets were met, as enabled by; capital generated through garment sales or through assistance provided by external NGOs, charities or redirected ODA assistance. For example, it is unclear whether the development benefits leveraged by LK Bennett Kosovo is delivering their social mandate through donations levied upon purchases of LK Bennett shoes to Women for Women International, through direct sales from purchases, or both.

4.2.8. The Commercial Enterprise

Several organisations reviewed within the desktop research reported they performed solely as commercial enterprises (9/15). However, deeper examination revealed that although the brand in question may operate as a commercial enterprise, multiple artisan cooperatives, social enterprises, charitable initiatives and manufacturing units function as suppliers. A diagram has been made of luxury ethical fashion brand EDUN, indicating the many-layered engagements with external suppliers (see Figure 4). Thus, making it difficult to assert that ‘fashion for development’ activities are solely operating as commercial enterprises. The research revealed it was a multi-layered construction.

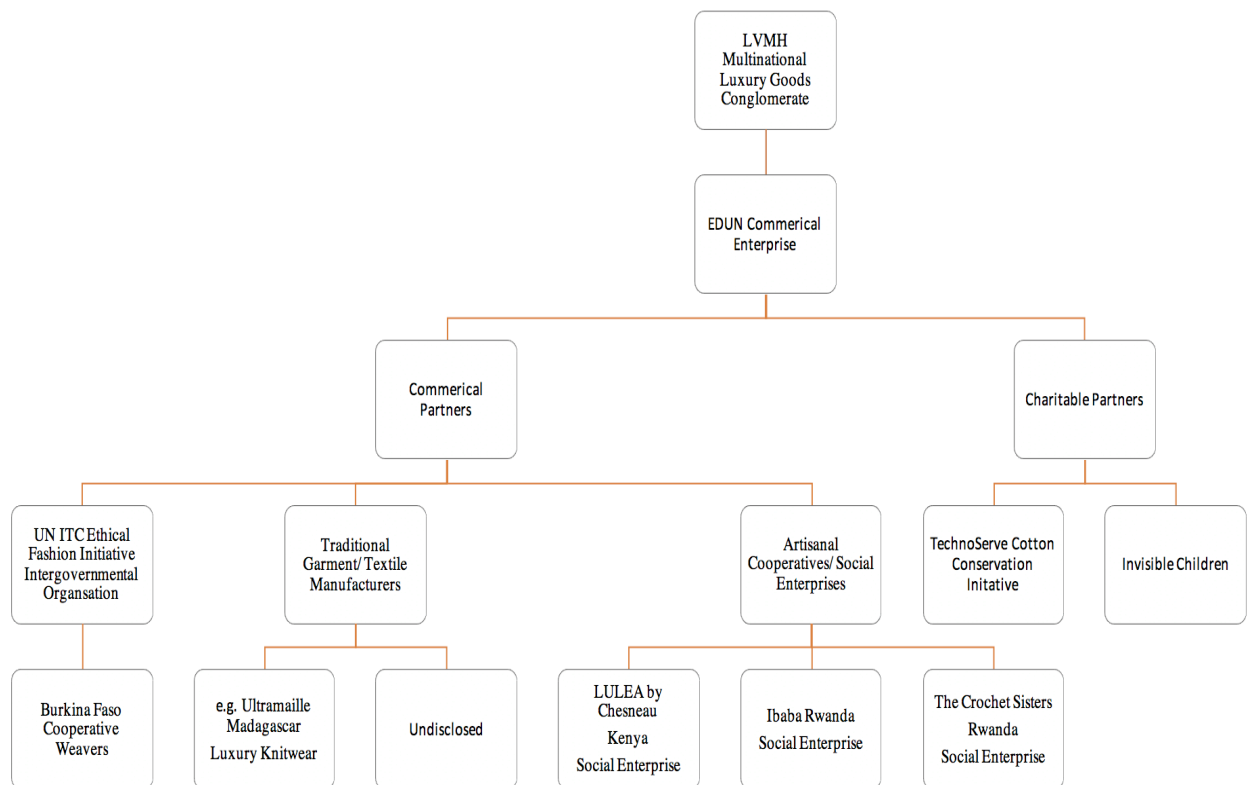


Figure 4: Black, J. 2017. *Variance in Commercial Enterprise*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

EDUN is owned by multinational luxury goods conglomerate LVMH, through which EDUN performs as exemplar study of the commercial viability of ethical and sustainable stewardship within luxury retail. Although theoretically a commercial enterprise, it would be ill-advised to categorise the majority of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives as primarily commercial expressions. A number of brands analysed within the desktop research engage suppliers operating as charitable initiatives or social enterprises. As illustrated in Figure 7, many composite parts form the commercial enterprise EDUN.

4.2.9. The Social Enterprise

Within the research project, three e-commerce ventures (3/15) explicitly defined themselves as social enterprises, detailing the importance of addressing ‘development’ issues through commercial trading activity. In the most general sense, social enterprises are understood as commercial enterprises utilising ‘business strategies to achieve philanthropic ends’ (Galvin and Iannotti, 2015, p. 432) (Alex Nicholls, 2008). This categorisation would make the majority of professional practitioners (7/7) and brands (10/15) examined within the desktop research examples of social enterprises. However, in many cases, both professional practitioners and brands are merely placing the social mandate or directive of their enterprise in a prominent position within their speech or online presence. Categorising social enterprises remains an area ‘poorly defined,’ with boundaries ‘with other fields of study [which] remain fuzzy’ (Santos, 2012, p. 336). A more nuanced understanding of social enterprise and the increasing interaction between commercial operations and philanthropic actions is needed to appropriately render the topic.

Despite diverging arguments regarding the attributes needed to categorise social enterprises, several synergies exist within the literature. Consensus is found amongst literature concerned with social or environmental entrepreneurship, which gives prominence to fulfilling the social mandate above commercial or profit-seeking activity, as a defining characteristic (Littlewood and Holt, 2011; Kelly *et al.*, 2015; Mason and Doherty, 2016). Typically, the secondary condition of social enterprise refers to the utilisation of commercial or trading relationships to generate income or capital for the organisation (Haugh, 2012). However, more quantitatively oriented definitions of social entrepreneurship are supplied and generally refer to stringent measurements of profits gained and distributed. Social Enterprise UK designates that a minimum of 50% of profits must be reinvested into the social mandate of the business to qualify as a social enterprise. However, Littlewood and Holt (2011) question the value of quantitative measurements of profit/capital within social enterprises as a method of categorisation, particularly within the emerging economies of Sub-Saharan Africa. The categorisation of 3/15 brands as social enterprises may be a reflection of organisations catering to and reflecting UK standardisation of social entrepreneurship, qualities which Littlewood and Holt consider restrictive (2011). A lack of awareness, appropriate legislative policy, a dearth of appropriate entrepreneurial skills, and a historical reliance on international aid is postulated by Littlewood and Holt as a disincentivising factor in growing the trading capacity of social enterprises in Sub-Saharan Africa (2011). However, as illustrated above, these results may be a reflection of larger issues with the understandings and definitions given to social enterprises. A review completed by Dacin *et al.* (2010) denotes 37 differing definitions of social enterprise. It is difficult to discern where the boundaries lie between a socially motivated commercial enterprise, where the social impact of the operation which acts to satisfy both the desire of the entrepreneur/organisation to render positive impact and the commercial opportunity that can be leveraged through the social mandate.

4.2.10. Subsidiaries/Suppliers

Furthermore, an additional organisational structure identified was the utilisation of supplier or subsidiary models. Five of the e-commerce brands surveyed operate as subsidiaries of parent companies. The phrase subsidiary has been utilised to express brands who are the sole client of producers in the Global South. Nine brands have supplier relationships with producers and/or manufacturers in the Global South. One brand made no clear designation. Many of the producers supplying to the nine ‘supplier’ brands sell to external companies and/or domestic markets. Amongst professional stakeholders interviewed, three operations function as suppliers to external companies and to domestic markets. Mayamiko ‘The Label’ sells solely through their brand e-commerce website, however, activities facilitated by the Mayamiko trust retail to exclusively to domestic markets. The repercussions of such models will be addressed in the discussion, (see Chapter 5).

4.2.11. CSR Integration

Several brands analysed within the desktop research collaborated with charitable enterprises or socially motivated garment manufacturers as explicit elements of their CSR activity. These brands (2/15) did not primarily frame themselves as ethical or sustainable fashion retailers. But rather utilised ‘fashion for development’ initiatives as a prominent element of either their charitable giving or corporate responsibility activities. An illustration (see Figure 5) has been made of ASOS’s engagement with ethical manufacturer SOKO Kenya, (described as ASOS Made in Kenya within corporate literature (ASOS, 2017c)).

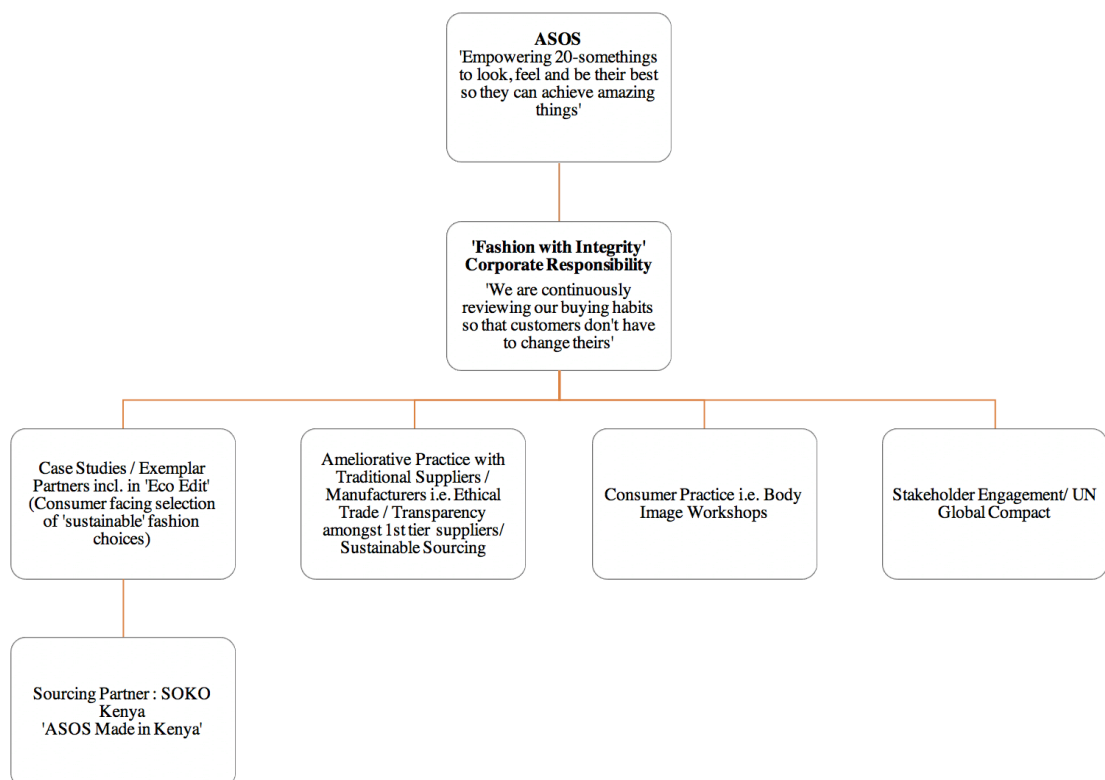


Figure 5: Black, J. 2017. *CSR Integration in High-Street Brands*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

‘Fashion for development’ initiatives appear to be utilised as an element of CSR activity, and in some cases, have a high-profile position within CSR reporting on brand e-commerce platforms.

However, as displayed in Figure 5, this initiative may form only form a small element of the brands offering. For example, the collaboration between ASOS and SOKO Kenya produces a 50-piece bi-annual collection, however, ASOS plc. sells 300,000 dresses per week alone. Despite this, SOKO Kenya takes a prominent position within the ASOS's social responsibility reporting.

4.2.12. Conclusion

This section has presented an amalgamation of results of both the desktop research and interviewees conducted, grappling with varieties and vagaries of organisational structure. The nuances of defining and categorising socially motivated businesses have been addressed. The organisational structures utilised to both generating development impact, and funds through which to complete such actions, has been presented. Several illustrations were generated to represent the complexities of actors, both commercial and charitable, engaging with fashion manufacture as a tool for international development. This included; the utilisation of charitable/commercial hybrids, social enterprises, and CSR integration. Data on the differences between supplier and subsidiary models has additionally been included. The following sections will present the results of interview with professional stakeholders and a deeper content analysis of e-commerce platforms reviewed within the desktop research.

4.3. Section 2: Interview Analysis

This chapter comprises of the key descriptive categories that were produced through the initial coding of the interview data. A full interview schedule can be accessed in Appendix B.1., and an overview of participants retrieved within the methodology section. The following subheadings illustrate responses, rather than an interpretation of them. The subheadings which describe how the data was developed after initial codes were categorised through collating comparable content. Responses provided by participants cross a variety of areas; a result of their differing roles with the fashion/development sphere. Synergies between actors paint a remarkable interpretation of the role of fashion manufacture within development, challenges and future possibilities. The researcher has endeavoured to accurately present these synergies, but in addition, to faithfully represent extraneous answers provided by participants. The chapter builds a complex picture of professionals grappling with multiple understandings of the benefits of fashion manufacture as a useful tool within the development of sub-Saharan Africa.

4.3.1. The Provision of Employment

As part of the battery of questions (see Appendix B.1.), interview participants were asked to conceptualise the value of fashion manufacture within the development sphere. This question elicited varied responses; however, the principal reply concerned the merit of fashion manufacturing as a generator of employment. The provision of waged work was framed as the chief contribution to development leveraged by fashion manufacture. The majority of participants (6/7) utilised similar terminology to frame their understanding of the question, referring to the delivery of jobs: 'It's about jobs, and jobs equal poverty reduction', (Smith, 2017) 'It provides jobs, it trains people,' (Ode, 2017) 'The key thing for me about development is about job creation', (Sharp, 2017) and 'Labour productivity, and all of the employment that goes with it' (Gooch, 2017). Similarly, Onyekachi Wambu, Director of The African Foundation for Development (AFFORD), described their interest in fashion manufacture as a desire to capitalise on employment generated by the sector. Vicky Brennan, of Proudly Made in Africa (PMIA), discussed the uniting of trade, fashion manufacture, and the African continent as a

valuable pathway towards meeting the UN's 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. Moreover, Brennan's recent 2017 appointment (former head of Brand Outreach at the Bangladesh Accord Foundation) corresponds to a reconfiguration of PMIA's methodology for stimulating value-added trade, 'from food to fashion' (2017). The merits of engaging with the fashion sector, from the perspectives of both PMIA and AFFORD, were framed as leveraging larger numbers of highly skilled and better-waged employees, in comparison to the agricultural sector. PMIA, AFFORD and Traidcraft delineate fashion manufacture as a valuable source of employment. Fashion manufacture and the 'trade not aid' agenda will be revisited in depth in the following section. Only one interviewee conceptualised the primary contribution of fashion manufacture to development differently. Heather Grant, of MMB, framed the value of fashion manufacture as a method of: '...empowering people by giving them the skills to that they could make choices about their lives, and come out of poverty through those skills' (2017). Capacity building through the acquisition of vocational skills (i.e. garment manufacture) was understood by Grant as the central contribution towards development made by fashion manufacture. However, it is relevant to note that all interviewees discussed the acquisition of skills as a facet of the offering generated by fashion manufacture in a development context, and is further explored in the following section. The merit of skills acquisition as a source of autonomous empowerment or control potentially leading to future employment is only explicitly mentioned by Grant. A discussion of dependency and self-determination of beneficiaries will be subsequently examined.

4.3.2. Capacity Building: Simple Skills

As mentioned above, the value of fashion manufacture has been conceptualised as a form of capacity building enabled through skills acquisition. A common view among interviewees was that skills training functioned both to enable beneficiaries/employees to initially gain employment but additionally served to up-skill employees to gain better waged managerial roles. Four interviewees (4/7) directly referenced the value of skills acquisition to the offering provided by fashion manufacture to international development. Brennan framed PMIA's interest in fashion manufacture through skill acquisition, enabling higher wages and increased competition in the labour market via leveraging highly skilled workers. Similarly, Smith commented that 'skills training enables people to get good jobs and earn good money' (2017). These thoughts were echoed in the interview with Grant, who said: '...the training and up-skilling of the people that we work with to get them to a level where we could employ them formally and provide an income' (2017). MMB and KMA both operate in rural areas of Malawi and Kenya, running charitable foundations which provide skills training and community development interventions, such as business training and family health activities. These foundations operate as autonomous organisations, funded through external NGOs and private benefactors. Employees are hired from the pool of trained staff created by the charities. Skills acquisition is understood by MMB and KMA as both a precursor to valuable employment, but additionally as an essential element of the development activities performed. Ode, a Ghanaian garment manufacturer, reiterated this as: 'It trains people, people gain skills with you ... You get to train people and actually help people's lives change, if you bring it to Africa' (2017). The provision of appropriate training is described by MMB as a method of ensuring independence and the self-reliance of employees separate to the commercial or charitable entity. This is facilitated through the provision of accredited qualifications, which beneficiaries may take on to new employers. However, AFFORD frames their understanding of generating development value differently, as the creation of '...sustainable projects or sustainable enterprises that people will carry on doing something if they make a profit from it' (Wambu, 2017).

Furthermore, there was a sense among some interviewees that the relative simplicity involved in the acquisition of garment manufacturing skills further facilitated the development gains leveraged. Although, only one interviewee explicitly referenced the low-skilled nature of garment manufacture:

It's fine for people for haven't been to school, they can't read, they can't write. It's a skill they can learn, it's a fairly mechanical skill that doesn't require terribly complex infrastructure. (Grant, 2017)

However, several interviewees referenced the labour-intensive nature of fashion manufacturing jobs, and remarked on its position in relation to agriculture, i.e. 'one rung above' (Brennan, 2017). These comments could be surmised to form a reiteration of Grant's comment concerning the low-skilled nature of garment manufacture. Both Grant and Wambu appear to view fashion manufacture as an area to be harnessed, with its ubiquity, size, and simplicity making it a useful site to engage in employment generating projects. Neither discussed the desire to provide ethical fashion manufacture, rather fashion manufacture was used as a vehicle for employment/entrepreneurship or capacity building. Overall, these results provide important insights into the nature and purpose of professionals involved with fashion manufacture and international development, in contrast to their online identity and communication. Industry actors appear to view their interaction within the development sector as leveraging employment, assisted by the provision of skills training related to garment manufacture.

4.3.3. Understanding 'Trade not Aid'

The role of commercial business or 'for-profit' initiatives was a recurrent theme amongst interviewees. Most interviewees operate some form of profit-making activity, across both private (TFB, GMC), and charitable sectors (PMIA). PMIA are predominantly funded through Irish Aid; however, they also charge a small sales commission to suppliers on the African continent (3%). This includes 'hybrids', who operate both for-profit commercial trading entities and separate development foundations (KMA, MMB, Traidcraft). As evidenced by the literature review, the notion of 'trade not aid' has grown in prominence within development practice and discourse. The positives of economic development furnished through trade based initiatives were emphasised by several interviewees. Wambu elucidated his perspective on the role of commercial enterprise within development: 'I have a real problem with the word 'development' as currently used in development discourse. For me, the most sustainable development project is a successful business' (2017). He went on to comment that:

It is problematic to argue that development is about small-scale unsustainable interventions, such as a group of women doing some craft based activity that does not respond to any market. Sustainable development has to be about you responding to your local market. (2017).

To Wambu, development is rooted as a pragmatic response to a commercial and social environment, with the fashion and textiles industry forming only one route. He concluded with a conceptualisation of the value of development intervention and the prejudices in its enactment:

I mean all the small-scale stuff we are doing building wells and 'sending cows to Africa', arguably the biggest impact on development in Africa in the past 15 years was a major strategic intervention – communications, especially the investment in the mobile phone network, which desperately needed early patient capital in what was considered a difficult

market. In some countries [on the continent] such as Nigeria, it has probably increased GDP by 10-15%... For a long time those involved in development were reluctant to make such interventions in such strategic sectors (unlike the Chinese for instance). At a trivial level, my response to them has always been is development really just sending a cow or a goat? It's just nonsense. (2017)

AFFORD focusses on stimulating structured enterprise and entrepreneurial development across the African continent, leveraged through harnessing diaspora remittances and skills. Brennan discussed the vision of PMIA to remove the negative bias surrounding trade with the African continent, which is reiterated on their website:

We believe that the fastest route to eradicating poverty is with 'trade not aid', we aim to support and promote a full African value chain that creates many employment opportunities while also offering a product that is as good, if not better, than the current marketplace offers. (Brouder and Tulej, 2015)

Negotiating preferential trading terms as a method of alleviating poverty is argued by PMIA as an effective method of engaging in development. However, other interviewees were careful to clarify the potential negative repercussions induced through commercial activity and unfair trading conditions. Gooch remarked that:

Trade and business can be done in a way that is good for workers and farmers... that can be done positively, it can also be done badly. And the critical thing is how is done, that is the critical thing. The question is not whether trade is good or bad, the question is how. (2017)

Subsequently, she commented that: 'if you want fast-fashion and cheap, you are automatically in a business model that is a disaster' (2017), framing the role of commercial activity within international development as a potentially fraught sector. Arguably, organisations such as PMIA, Traidcraft and TFB exist to ensure equitable trade terms are ratified. It is relevant to note the dissident voice provided by Gooch, Senior Policy Advisor at Traidcraft, within the research. She is a highly experienced and knowledgeable actor regarding ethical buying practice, development aid, and the intricacies of human centred trade practice, and Traidcraft, her employer. Viewing Gooch as a voice 'in, but not of' the fashion industry, colours the results. She has no vested interest in championing or reconfiguring the fashion industry as a force for good. Rather throughout the interview, she deconstructed and critically analysed fashion manufacturing as a potentially destructive force. Methodologies for ensuring equitable trade are discussed in the following section. To conclude, a variety of opinions were voiced regarding the nature of commercial within development, however, it was primarily framed as a positive agent when leveraged with care.

4.3.4. Tensions

Tensions between both the role of business and charity with the development process surfaced several times throughout the interviews conducted. Two interviewees (2/7) specifically discussed issues surrounding ensuring viable commercial activity, whilst engaging in wider social development programs. Smith, of KMA, expressed that she felt there were 'limits to the business meeting the social needs of employees' (2017). A separation was made between the commercial trading of KMA EPZ and charitable Stitching Academy Trust, by Smith, who wished not to 'blur the lines' between operations of the enterprise and charitable activity (2017).

Similarly, Grant, of MMB, expressed a similar conception of charitable operations. Despite the initial and continuing goal of MMB to perform within a ‘trade not aid’ model, Grant discussed the challenges inherent in creating EPZs within areas garment manufacturing is a relative unknown. She indicated that a ‘charity mindset’ was necessary to ‘fund the training and upskilling of the people we work with’ prior to formal employment within MMB’ (2017). They remained an entirely charitable enterprise for a period of four years, until the establishment of MMB ‘The Label’ as a separate commercial enterprise. The charitable activities of MMB continue as a funded trust, although now a number are now employed formally within MMB ‘The Label.’ Arguably, the need for capacity building in terms of skill acquisition is dependent on both the purpose and location of the commercial or charitable entity. A further discussion regarding self-determination, dependency and charitable activity will be explored in the following section. Fashion manufacture was expressed by some respondents as a perilous industry. Interviewees confronted the duality intrinsic to the conception of fashion manufacture as an agent within development. Differing business models, sourcing decisions and understandings of supplier capacities all alter the value of fashion as an effective agent.

4.3.5. Methodologies of ‘trade not aid’.

In continuing to answer the original interview question, ‘defining the value of fashion manufacture as a development agent’, interviewees detailed various methodologies utilised to enact positive development gains. All interviewees suggested that fashion manufacture could be framed as a positive agent if certain strategies were employed. The various approaches discussed specifically by interviewees will be presented in the following section.

4.3.6. Method: Pricing

Developing appropriate strategies regarding the pricing of garment production was discussed by several interviewees. They suggested that garment production could ensure consistent and reasonable wages, where suppliers could employ concrete pricing policies regarding labour costings. One interviewee detailed that:

it is possible to do clothing supply chains in a way that does reduce poverty, it is possible’ but it involves: ‘planning, it involves committing earlier, it involves prompt payment, it involves a proper approach to pricing’ (Gooch, 2017).

This was reiterated by Sharp, who described how TFB provide a custom breakdown of costs to retailers, detailing raw material, labour, shipping, and commission costs. According to Sharp, the provision of a full cost breakdown facilitates customer understanding of design and shipping alterations: ‘if you want a cheaper price, pick a cheaper fabric, you take a pocket off, you change a seam construction...So we are not negotiating on wage at all’ (2017). The pricing methodology utilised by TFB facilitates effective communications between Sharp and the retailer, concerning the cause and effect of altering garment design and construction. Ode employs the TBC ‘open costing’ policy in GMC, reporting that:

we make sure we pay the living wage, minimum wage can be rubbish. And paying the living wage suggest that we are about the person ... That’s why we have the ethical sourcing agent (TFB) that helps. (2017)

The support of TFB enables Ode to execute the ethical pricing policy she desires. To summarize, pricing strategies utilised to ensure fair wages involved transparent correspondence between supplier and brand/retailer.

4.3.7. Method: Duty-Free Trade

One interviewee referenced the value of duty-free trade, or reduced tariffs on African fashion and textile exports towards negotiating the pricing of goods. For example, TFB leverage several trade agreements to promote the value of garment exports from Africa. These include utilising duty-free imports into the USA, Australia and Europe through trade agreements such as Market Access Regulation (MAR), Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) and the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Imports under AGOA into the USA benefit from a 20% reduction in import tariffs. TFB is additionally able to pass on the advantages of low labour costs across many African countries, thus gaining a competitive advantage over rising wages across Asia. Sharp utilises reductions in import tariffs to achieve cost competitive pricing strategies, allowing them to leverage wage requirements. Criticism of the AGOA arrangement from other interviewees will be discussed in the following section.

4.3.8. Method: Product Continuity

Respondents articulated that ensuring stability in product orders was an essential element towards providing employee benefits and consistent resourcing of appropriately waged jobs. Consistent, continuous orders, according to three interviewees (3/7) better-enabled factory owners to ensure the well-being (social and economic) of staff. Several different methodologies were employed by interviewees to secure stability and consistency within product orders. Mass manufacture, steady state garment production (SSGP), and utilisation of the domestic market were referenced as key approaches facilitating product continuity. Both Smith and Sharp articulated that they avoided small, domestic orders, preferring larger wholesale or bulk purchase orders. For example, Sharp said that: ‘if you do small runs of things that change all the time your percentage of job creation is going to be much smaller’ (2017). Mass manufacture is leveraged by TFB to ensure consistent employment. TFB prioritises the generation of high-volume international orders at cost-competitive rates. Cost-savings made within the manufacturing, procurement, and export processes allow for a reinvestment of profits towards consistent worker improvement. Ode, a client of TFB, reiterated the benefits of bulk orders: ‘the thing is the large volumes bring in work all the time. I say we will always have work for you’ (2017). High volume orders which ensure reliable employment is used by Ode as a method of convincing local tailors to work in her factory. Smith avoids domestic retailers, as their requests are below the minimum purchase orders required to ensure the continuing viability of KMA.

Within the interviews, three respondents discussed the value of steady-state garment production (SSGP) as a method of capitalising on the benefits of mass manufacture. Steady-state or blank apparel garment manufacture is the production of apparel basics, without decoration or obvious design elements. Examples would include plain men’s shirting, medical scrubs, and unisex basics, such as; t-shirts, pants etc. TFB and GMC articulated that stable purchase orders, facilitated through SSGP and lean manufacturing processes, leveraged greater returns regarding continuous employment. Sharp remarked that catering to fast fashion retailers, who typically desired rapid alterations in garment design, trim, and price, altering profit margins, time to market etc., ‘effectively destroys your current business model’ (2017). Steady-state garment production, to Sharp, ensured the continuous employment of garment workers amongst supplier/clients of TFB. Additionally, she divulged that the stability offered by steady state

production facilitated continuing capacity building amongst suppliers, and compensated for lowered efficiency rates in garment manufacture across the African continent. SSGP is also mentioned by Ode, who discussed how it has not only ensured continuous employment amongst her workers, but has enabled her to capitalise on both domestic and international markets. She provided an example of a current order of school uniforms, lamenting that fabrics typically utilised for export to Western markets are manufactured from heavier woven and knitted textiles which do not translate well to domestic markets, making SSGP difficult. School uniforms offer the benefits of being both SSGP and being manufactured in the same fabric (cotton). The production of blank stock enables maximum efficiency, per Sharp and Ode, due to reduced alterations in design, fit, and construction. Additionally, a third interviewee commented on the value of steady state or blank stock production towards ensuring positive development benefits:

Who's got the best working conditions?. The characteristic of those companies are those that do steady state. So basically if it's underwear, or its men's shirts, or something that is really really common, and you need it day in, day out, you can plan. You can develop your workforce, you can pay them well. (Gooch, 2017)

She discussed how the environment created through blank stock apparel enabled consistency within the factory environment. Without energies being directed at catering to pattern alternations, changing the line etc., environments emerge where good practice can be fostered. It is relevant to note that MMB caters neither to the domestic market or produce wholesale volumes, which Grant comments is due to a lack of appropriate raw materials. To conclude, leveraging consistent large-scale product orders was framed by several interviewees as a valuable method to leverage development benefits.

4.3.9. Equity in Training and Resourcing

The question of equity between employees in sub-Saharan Africa and those in the United Kingdom surfaced within both the literature review and subsequent desktop research and thus became part of the battery of interview questions. As all interviewees were largely engaging with trade-based solutions to development issues, discussions of equity, equality, and charity surfaced within the research. Some interviewees emphasised notions of equity when discussing their interaction with garment workers. Smith framed her understanding of the provision of benefits and skills training within KMA as supplying the 'benefits you would expect within a developed country' (2017). Rather than as recipients of charity, Smith frames the charitable response as ameliorating barriers to employment caused by endemic poverty. The Stitching Academy enables such equity, through the provision of: '...medical care, childcare, free meals, so to reduce the barriers to women [in the local area] being in employment' (2017). In addition, she was asked to elaborate on a programme offered by KMA where three employees of KMA received a travel bursary to visit the United Kingdom. This bursary facilitated pattern cutting courses, CAD/CAM course on Vetigraph CAD system, tours of fabric mills in Scotland, and visits to the head office of a key supplier. Smith characterised this visit as enabling KMA employees to '...integrate themselves into British culture, work ethic and all of that' (2017). Employees are framed as valuable human capital, rather than simply as beneficiaries of charitable action. The project, which received Commonwealth funding, can be viewed both as an example of equity inherit within KMA and the value offered by inclusion within GVCs. Objectives detailed by Smith's practice within KMA feed into those echoed by Wambu, who critiqued many 'fashion for development' initiatives. He observed:

So, on the one hand, you are being charitable, and on the other side it just involves intellectual property theft, frequently. So the idea the training is always one way, or the expertise is always one is something that I refute. (Wambu, 2017)

Shared collaboration or equal exchange between all actors within these newly created GVCs offers the potential for reciprocal engagement.

4.3.10. Managing Risk

Managing risk through effectively organising uncertainty with GVCs, ensuring risk is appropriately administered between workers, suppliers, and retailers was observed as an effective methodology to leverage development value by several interviewees. Gooch, when asked about the potential for fashion manufacturing to have a positive impact on development, suggested that poverty alleviation was only possible in GVCs when risk was appropriately managed between supplier and retailer. For example, she said:

The critical question in all of that is, who is bearing risk and are they bearing risks that they can manage? If they can bear the risks that they can manage, they should be able to negotiate so that they can pay people well, they can plan, they can invest and they can train. If they are bearing risk that they cannot manage, then we are often making people poorer. (Gooch, 2017)

She suggested suppliers are placed in precarious positions where all risk or uncertainty is mitigated within the supply chain and none is transferred towards the retailer. Gooch reported garment worker wages suffer when retailers fail to commit to pre-payments; block out factory capacity; retain original delivery dates or design brief; offer investment towards factory compliance. Last minute changes in garment construction, colour, trim or landed delivery date push suppliers to commit workers to unpaid overtime, or airfreighting products, which reduces or negates supplier profit margins. She suggested that the successful mitigation and management of risk within GVC supports positive working environments. Gooch added ‘... the question I am very interested in is, how people negotiate with one another, and what power do they have relative to one another’ (2017). Facilitating the mitigation of risk was discussed by several other interviewees.

Both TFB and PMIA act as trade facilitators or sourcing agents, aiding effective and responsible trading relationships between UK/EU/US-based retailers and Sub-Saharan suppliers. Ode, a supplier client of TFB, discussed the benefits brought by their relationship with TFB:

They help, they know the salary of everyone in your factory, they know more than you do, that’s why we have an ethical sourcing agent, they have done their homework and they are willing to do government changes. Those are the reasons we have chosen them. (2017)

TFB negotiates on behalf of GMC, enabling Ode to operate under ethical conditions, responding appropriately to government legislation. Most crucially, TFB, as previously discussed, mediates between African suppliers and Western retailers to ensure responsible sourcing conditions are met. The mitigation on behalf of suppliers by TFB ensures risk is appropriately shared. Sharp additionally suggests that her professional qualifications and experience ensure the effective functioning of relationships between supplier and retailer. She reported that:

Because my background is retail, I have been on that side. They come to us because we are going to be able to speak their language and communicate with them. Hopefully, we will get the point where the factories can do that directly, and that's a capacity building process that needs to happen. (2017)

Sharp framed herself as a type of 'transitional intermediary', where capacity building activities with suppliers form a stage of on-boarding with TFB, with a long-term plan to disengage. In addition, PMIA operates a similar methodology, which alludes to the ensuring of the balancing of risk between supplier and retailer. She detailed that all suppliers engaged with PMIA services are offered a three-year period of capacity building, where a 3% sales commission is charged. After the three-year capacity building process, Brennan reported that suppliers will have developed appropriate and effective relationships with suppliers to no longer require services. However, Brennan said that many suppliers remain with PMIA long after the three-year period has elapsed. Additionally, trade facilitation services offered by TFB were reported to mitigate risk on behalf of retailers. Sharp gives account to mitigating the perceived risk amongst retailers in the UK/EU/USA concerning sourcing in new locations. The ethical agent (TFB) confers trust to retailers who, per Sharp, consider Sub-Saharan Africa a dubious sourcing destination. To conclude, to ensure appropriate sharing of risk, several interviewees act as intermediaries to ensure responsible sourcing conditions are met. Dialogue between both supplier and retailer is framed as an essential quality of ensuring this.

4.3.11. Independent of Northern Intervention?

Notions of dependency, empowerment, and latterly independence were recurrent throughout both the literature review and the desktop research. All interviewees were engaged in some form of 'trade not aid' activity, predominantly through fostering entrepreneurial activity or through the provision of employment. However, despite this, the majority of respondents continued to engage in some form of overseas development aid; either through capacity building activities linked to employment initiatives or through health and wellbeing initiatives aimed at employees and the wider community. Such initiatives were typically facilitated through charitable foundations run in parallel to the commercial activities of interviewees. These charitable initiatives were typically financed through; DFID, Irish Aid, remittance payments, or philanthropic giving by an individual or larger corporate donors.

Interviewees reported a variety of opinions regarding facilitating independence, enabling ongoing sustainability of commercial activity, and the value of capacity building in ensuring the autonomy of beneficiaries. Wambu remarked on the value of fostering sustainable business:

I think ultimately what you are trying to do is create sustainable projects or sustainable (social) enterprises. People will carry on doing something if they make a profit from it, whether that surplus is taken out as a private dividend or reinvested in social enterprise. If they don't then their activity is dependent on charity, and one day when the person giving the charity is tired, it will inevitably fail. (2017)

Facilitating stable business operations, supported by short to medium term overseas development aid or outside assistance, was framed by Wambu as an effective method of ending aid dependency. He acknowledged the value of initial support, but suggested in the medium to long term facilitating entrepreneurial activity and enabling successful trading relationships offers the most useful contribution. Similar themes emerge from interviews with both Smith and

Grant, who discussed the initial dependencies their business activity fostered. Smith remarked that:

I was the biggest liability to KMA because it was all supported by me. So that if I were to step out it would fail, so I was doing everyone a disservice by having that model (2017).

She subsequently recounted how she altered KMA from a social enterprise to a commercial organisation with a separate charitable foundation funding the wider capacity building and community health initiatives. Similarly, Grant discussed how she had ‘a very clear exit plan’ (2017). She went on to describe ongoing capacity building processes which are facilitating managerial roles in MMB. Grant plans to formally leave the business pending the completion of managerial training of current employees. Both Smith and Grant initially lived in-country during the establishment of their business, but both now operate from London.

Within the research, conceptions of independence widened from discussions of operational models to the value of capacity building activities to enable the autonomy of workers in the ‘trade not aid’ model. Grant, as previously discussed, reported that capacity building was the principal component of fashion manufacture to stimulate development. She discussed how skills training at MMB was designed to enable participants to ‘make choices about their lives’ (2017). A formal national vocational qualification (NVQ) in garment manufacture is supported by MMB. A paid apprenticeship with MMB leading to full-time employment is then offered or, alternatively, entrepreneurial training to enable participants to run small-scale tailoring businesses. Grant emphasised MMB’s desire to foster independence as exclusive to the EPZ. Participants are not required to continue in employment with MMB following completion, their NVQs ensuring workers are not tied to MMB. Grant reiterated the freedom offered to participants, enabled through an organisational emphasis upon training, throughout the interview. She added that many previous students have alternatively established small community co-operatives utilising the financial literacy, business and marketing management teaching available through MMB.

Additionally, the capacity building process inherent to trade facilitated by TFB’s commercial activity was conceptualised by Sharp as enabling eventual independence from TFB. Continued capacity building was framed by her as a method of funding advantageous knowledge of production management. This was with regards to the implementation of international audit and compliance standards, such as the execution of the ETI Base Code. Sharp described negotiating a ‘continual relationship’ between TFB and African suppliers: ‘...there are months that a factory will report: ‘Cash flow is really poor at the moment, how are we going to meet salary demands?’(2017). Such problems appear to be negotiated as sites contingent on mutual co-operation, supporting sustained improvements both within management practice and procedures such as the utilisation of a ‘technical factory action plan’ and a ‘compliance action plan’ (2017). Skills acquired by local staff, particularly within procurement and management systems, remain as erudite knowledge, enabling the continued negotiation of commercial business long after the partnership with TFB.

4.3.12. Challenges

Several challenges were highlighted by participants, who were asked to detail barriers to achieving positive development benefits through fashion manufacturing. They discussed obstacles which they had experienced personally and larger corporate challenges to the industry.

Many of the challenges experienced by the interviewees are disclosed within their answers in the above text; however, the following section deals with explicit expressions pertaining to obstructions to leveraging development gains.

4.3.12.1. Appropriate Skills

A lack of appropriate skills was referenced by the majority of interview participants. Both Brennan and Gooch reported that a lack of appropriately trained middle management presented a considerable challenge to the ongoing growth of the sector. The interviewees discussed that the deficit in middle management staff necessitated the hiring of foreign staff, which both Brennan and Gooch reported to causing inter-ethnic tension between employees. The value of better waged senior roles was reported not to be benefitting local communities. A number of participants chose to operate in areas with no existent manufacturing operations, so as to bring employment to the locale through garment production. Capacity building through skill acquisition was, therefore, necessary for both Smith and Grant. Crucially, however, a lack of appropriate garment construction skills was not problematised but rather understood by both participants as a necessary and desirable function of their charitable activities. Smith specifically discussed that applicants from nearby cities were attracted to roles at the KMA EPZ. Training local applicants ensured the benefits of KMA's commercial activity were experienced by the local community. Conversely, Ode reported that local tailors were initially reticent to take up employment in Ode, fearing line production would result in an erosion of their construction and pattern making skills. She detailed that this was overcome through allowing workers access to factory facilities at the weekend:

Most of them were afraid that they would lose their skill. So I tell them you can do this during the week, and at the weekend you are free to do what you want, wedding dresses for your sisters etc. (Ode, 2017)

4.3.12.2. Access to Raw Materials

Several interviewees identified that a lack of textiles manufactured from their raw state posed both a challenge and a development opportunity of creating additional value within the African continent. TFB voiced that limited access to fabric in-country represented a challenge due to high logistical costs of imports into West-Africa, but the significant value-add opportunity of transforming locally grown cotton into fabric for CMT production. Sharp estimated that up to 50% of fabric costs in TFB partner factories can be attributed to logistical costs. Ode articulated that the provision of mills who can process recycled polyester would be of massive development value to Ghana. Garments manufactured utilising polyester benefit from a thirty-three percent reduction in trade tariffs under AGOA. She said '...all these things are stilling there waiting' (2017). Access to smaller and more responsive milling and ginning processes could facilitate the beginnings of cotton procured in Africa, rather than simply grown. Access to fabric also represents a challenge to the commercial objectives of MMB. They are currently unable to scale to a large wholesale model due to the limited availability of repeat purchases of fabric colour-ways and patterns in Malawi, 'we can't go wholesale as we just can't get the quantities' (Grant, 2017). Short runs of twenty to thirty meters characterise typical production of cotton wax fabric available across Sub-Saharan Africa. Gooch also remarked that the lack of cotton processing in Sub-Saharan Africa presents a challenge to the often-inferred sustainability of garment production in Africa:

You have enormous amounts of cotton travelling on a fashion time frame which squeezes everything and therefore we haven't got time for shipping. I'm not sure if East Africa is going to be a sustainable place to do CMT. (2017)

The dearth of cotton processing and textile manufacture in sub-Saharan Africa appropriately servicing the export market was framed as a significant challenge towards responding to consumer demand, reducing logistical costs, and accessing the full benefit available of trade facilitated by AGOA.

4.3.12.3. Imports and Taxation

Some respondents (2/7) discussed the duality of benefit inherent with the duty-free bargain. AGOA provides preferential duty-free trade into the USA; however, it also necessitates the import of used clothing from the USA into Africa. Wambu references the destructive element of used clothing imports into Africa, which effectively obliterates domestic clothing markets. This also speaks into the exploration of Bottom Billion Capitalism (BBC) examined within the literature review, with reliance on consumers on the African continent remaining a precarious route to development. As Wambu noted, the concept of BBC would appear to be ineffective in the case of clothing where:

people don't seem to be that passionate or concerned about the quality (given the huge market for second-hand clothes and cheap Chinese imports), rather they are going for price. So that's a big issue. (2017)

Consumers are driven primarily by price; a factor Gooch explores when discussing the viability of ethical fashion:

If someone goes into a shop and says 'I can buy a t-shirt for £1, or I can buy a t-shirt for £20'. In the consumer mind, the comparison between £1 and £20 is too great. £20 will never succeed, maybe £10 will. (2017)

The retailing of clothing manufactured through processes which would enable development and benefit the worker was remarked as possessing incumbent difficulties across both Global North and South. Gooch also voiced concerns that efforts to attract business to Africa had resulted in unfavourable trading terms for the African continent. Larger Asian manufactures operating in East Africa benefit from relaxed taxation conditions, Gooch reported. Development benefits leveraged are the provision of employment, corporate tax is not fed into governmental services such as health and infrastructure.

4.3.13. Conclusion

To conclude, Section 2 of the Findings has reported the views of the professional stakeholders interviewed, demonstrating contemporary perspectives of 'fashion for development'. The variety of interviewees has determined the multifarious agents leveraging fashion manufacture as potentially valuable agent within international development. The two core benefits discussed by interviewees was the provision of employment and the potential to engage in capacity building activities. It could be surmised that there was a duality within the responses, seeking to balance commercial activity alongside addressing development needs of staff. Generally, the views provided by professional stakeholders appear to view fashion manufacture, particularly

on the African continent, as a pragmatic business choice. Centring development value around commercial activity appears to reveal the intent of the research participants to foster sustainable initiatives. The concept of sustainability, as presented within the findings, manifests as a desire to engage in charitable or capacity building initiatives in the short-term, to effectively foster long-term solutions. This was particularly evident in both the ‘exit-plans’ presented by a number of stakeholders, and the business training additionally provided. Beneficiaries or employees may not need to continue to rely on outside agents. Several methodologies were employed by interviewees to ensure development needs were addressed, such as; appropriate pricing of goods, leveraging duty-free trade options, and taking advantage of steady state garment production (SSGP). A central element of negotiating development benefits, appeared to be fostered through ensuring knowledge of ‘cause and effect’ of buying decisions upon suppliers. Several professional actors (TFB, PMIA, Traidcraft) act to ameliorate these differences through trade facilitation. A number of challenges were identified by interviewees, such as; lack of appropriate skills, access to raw materials and/or a prohibitive trading environment. The following section explores how intent was displayed on the e-commerce platforms of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives.

4.4. Section 3: Online Discourse Analysis of ‘Fashion for Development’ E-commerce Platforms

This section presents the findings obtained from the desktop research; an expository content analysis of the online discourse of fifteen e-commerce brands broadly engaged in ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. A deeper evaluation of the results is included within the discussion section of this thesis. As the research is concerned with ‘widening’ the discourse, fifteen fashion retailers were examined to represent the breadth of brands currently utilising ‘development’ as a marketing or production motif.

4.4.1. Desktop Research: E-commerce Brands – Initial Categories

Included below is a simplified diagram of the assorted brands examined within the desktop research, see Figure 6. Brands have been primarily grouped to express the range of retailers operating ‘fashion for development’ schemes; from social enterprises and not-for-profits to high-street CSR programs, to retailers of ‘ethically’ sourced or sustainable garments. The categorisation produced is not a definitive classification of retailers involved, e.g. Ali Hewson and Bono’s label EDUN represents an example of luxury retails as much as Vivienne Westwood or Stella McCartney. However, retailers have been grouped to represent the primary intent of their operations and/or market positioning.

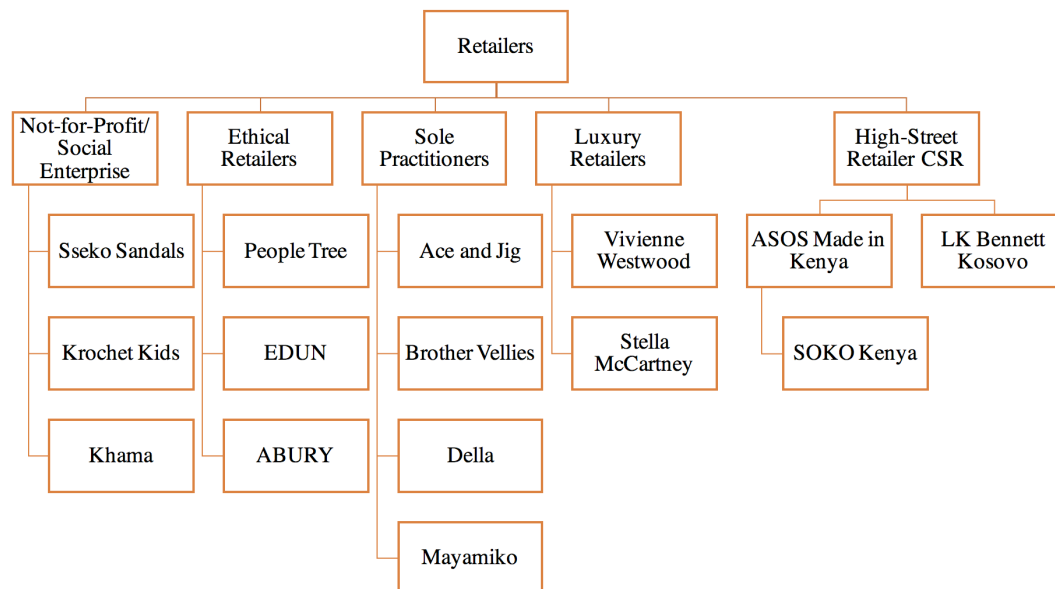


Figure 6: Black, J. 2017. *A Brief Overview of E-Commerce Brands*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

A brief summary of the types of fashion brands selected is provided in the following section, after which, a thematic analysis will be presented. An expanded summary of businesses sampled is available in Appendix A.2.

4.4.2. *Types of Businesses Surveyed*

Several attributes were common to all brands analysed. Primarily, brands utilised business models which placed commercial activity broadly within development, either through; trade, the funding of development programs, or through social enterprise structures similar to Fair Trade. The context through which this was administered differed between brands. Some brands analysed positioned themselves as ethically or socially motivated commercial enterprises, engaging in development activity through the employment of workers in the South and sale of goods in the North, comparable to Fair Trade. These brands were: People Tree, EDUN, Mayamiko, Abury, Ace and Jig, Brother Vellies, Kahma, Della. Others provided exemplars of social enterprise or non-profit models, also participating in development through the recruitment of disadvantaged or disenfranchised workers into fashion enterprises. These brands were Sseko Sandals and Krochet Kids. Both models typically offer additional benefits, such as; health care, paid school fees, on-site nurseries, or business training. Furthermore, several retailers who operate small ‘fashion for development’ schemes as elements of their CSR offerings were identified. Brands include Vivienne Westwood, Stella McCartney, ASOS Made in Kenya, and LK Bennett Kosovo. These brands have a similar approach to those identified above, but form a constituent element of their commercial operations, rather than the entirety of organisational output.

It is pertinent to point out that the brands analysed within the research represent a form of ethical consumption, where, as Hawkins describes, ‘consumers are able to participate in philanthropy while going about their daily shopping activities.’ (2012a, p. 1784). Brands analysed hold many motifs similar to those generated within literature related to cause-related marketing (CRM), which will be re-examined in the following discussion. However, the key trait in which ‘fashion for development’ initiatives explored within this research diverges from those related to CRM, are within how development value is triggered. ‘Fashion for development’ schemes within the research project engage in development primarily through the

employment of ‘beneficiaries’, rather than simply through the precipitation of donations made through consumer purchases.

4.4.3. Market Segmentation

The research has examined responses from brands catering to a variety of market segments. A number of luxury labels were identified: Vivienne Westwood, Stella McCartney, EDUN, and Brother Vellies. The target market is reflected in the pricing of retailed goods and the limited quantities to which they are produced. A number of these brands are retailed on exclusive luxury websites such as; Net-A-Porter and Matches Fashion. Several brands surveyed target consumers who are directly concerned with the social or environmental merit of their fashion garments, such as Ace and Jig, Kahma, Della, Abury, Mayamiko, and People Tree. These brands make clear their socio/environmental intentions, and often market products concerned with providing employment for disenfranchised weavers, embroiderers etc. Typically, the price point of such brands reflects the additional costs associated with ‘caring’ for employees, i.e. higher wages, healthcare, free lunches. Such brands target customers willing to pay more for their fashion garments, but typically not as affluent as Stella McCartney customers etc. Lastly, several brands offer ‘philanthropic consumption’ for the masses, lowered price points allow access to the majority of consumers: Sseko Sandals and Krochet Kids (Lamrad and Hanlon, 2014, p. 615). Arguably, the CSR programmes of high-street retailers included within the study can be included here, ASOS Made in Kenya and LK Bennett Kosovo, offering access to the mainstream consumer.

The following section locates concepts shared amongst the majority of brands analysed and attempts to appropriately address the nuances between alternate brand dialogues (i.e. corporate communications). Depth, where appropriate is provided, however, due to the large amounts of data retrieved through the online analysis, providing detail of the synergies between online brands remained the focus. Six broad themes emerged from the analysis; negotiating empowerment and identity, selling imagined Africa, design and paternalism, dependency by operation, a reiteration of aid, and responses to the local. Each will be examined in full in the following section.

4.4.4. Empowerment and Development Discourse

References to empowerment were ubiquitous amongst brands surveyed. Ten brands explicitly referenced the ‘empowerment’ of workers or artisans as a direct development benefit leveraged by their business operations. All brands surveyed inferred that employment through them, as an empowering agent, enabled beneficiaries to ‘lift themselves out of poverty’ (SOKO Kenya, 2017b). Empowerment was described as being bestowed upon brand beneficiaries through the provision of waged work, i.e. the production of fashion garments or accessories for retail. This process allowed beneficiaries ‘...to provide for their families and begin planning for the future. By teaching these people to crochet, we would be empowering them to rise above poverty’ (Krochet Kids intl, 2017). The ten brands who directly discussed empowerment as a key feature of their operations, echoed sentiments similar to those espoused by Krochet Kids (2017) above. For example, Mayamiko describe themselves as ‘empowering local communities through skills and fairer trade’ (2017), as does Brother Veilles, who reported that employment was: ‘empowering people within Africa by giving them jobs instead of handouts...’ (2017b). The homogeneous nature of remarks surrounding empowerment is remarkable, as Vivienne Westwood reiterated their activity as: ‘...empowering these informal manufacturers and craftspeople to enter the international value chain and providing them with a reliable

income.’(2017b) In addition, the type of development benefits leveraged by ‘fashion for development’ initiatives remained amorphous, ranging from loosely described economic growth, independence, female empowerment, or to the preservation of heritage crafts. Four brands produced ‘impact reports’ in the style of those typically produced within the development industry; People Tree, Stella McCartney, Brother Vellies and Vivienne Westwood. Impact reports for Vivienne Westwood, Stella McCartney and Brother Vellies are produced by the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative. The yearly ‘Social Review’ produced by People Tree is particularly comprehensive, reflecting the well-established nature of their operations. Many brands, however, if providing any reporting of development impacts defer to ambiguous infographics, where it is difficult to ascertain any exact figures or the time period of reporting, see: (Della, 2017b; Krochet Kids intl., 2017; Mayamiko, 2017). Solid reporting regarding the nature and impact of ‘empowerment’ remained vague amongst brands surveyed.

Eight brands discussed the provision of employment as an empowering agent whilst representing aid or charitable donations within development as a potentially disabling or repressive entities. Employment was framed as furnishing the self-determination for beneficiaries, or independence from Western agents. For example, Krochet Kids reported that beneficiaries were: ‘...sick and tired of being dependent upon these operating bodies and they wanted to work and provide for their own families.’ (Krochet Kids intl., 2017). The provision of employment by Krochet Kids was framed as providing this independence. Similarly, Sseko Sandals outlined that:

...sometimes charity and aid can play a negative role by enabling dependencies and damaging the local economies. Like us, our friends in Africa need and desire opportunity, dignity, job creation and empowerment. (Sseko Designs, 2016)

Again, employment with Sseko Sandals is described as empowering beneficiaries to be independent. A negative framing of the impacts of charitable interventions was prevalent in over half of brands surveyed. Many brands juxtaposed their commercial operations against charitable actions of aid agencies or donors. SOKO Kenya articulated that they were interested in ‘providing people within our community with the opportunity, through employment not charity, to improve their lives and the lives of their families’ (SOKO Kenya, 2017a). Implicit within this statement is the understanding that the operations of SOKO Kenya, better promote the agency of beneficiaries. Vivienne Westwood reported that their collaboration with the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative worked in ‘place of aid dependency’ (Vivienne Westwood, 2017b).

However, amongst the majority of brands surveyed, there was a clear dissonance between negative dependencies fostered through the provision of aid and the role of the brand as a new benefactor. All brands surveyed hold their intellectual and operational headquarters in the Global North, mirroring traditional North-South aid flows. South-South ‘fashion for development’ initiatives were not located within the research. ‘Fashion for development’ schemes, within the research, marketed themselves as alternatives to aid dependency. This contradiction between employees and the brands which employ or commission their work was unaddressed by the majority of brands surveyed. Vivienne Westwood was quoted, saying:

It’s been, and still is, such a gratifying experience to know the opportunities we are able to give people. And the bags we make in Africa are still my favourite! (2017b).

Latent within the discourse of empowerment are narratives of dominance and agency within such business as employment is ‘given’. Rich and alluring marketing narratives frame brands

and founders alike, as agents of social change, giving or bestowing employment. Lamrad and Hanlon (2014) reported that founders were portrayed in their study, as having a ‘patina of virtue and righteousness’ (2014, p. 617). Similar results echoed within this research project; Krochet Kids intl. described themselves as ‘providing life-changing job opportunities to women in need’ (2017). Likewise, Della described themselves as ‘providing jobs’ (2017b), echoed by Sseko Sandals who report they are ‘providing employment to women’ (2016). Employees or beneficiaries are described as being dependent on the philanthropically motivated commercial actions of ‘fashion for development’ brands for their empowerment and employment. Brands may have assuaged aid giving, but the continuation of Northern aid giving is continued through the provision of employment through ‘fashion for development’ brands. Designers or founders of ‘fashion for development’ brands were cast in the role of rescuer, liberator, or emancipator of impoverished beneficiaries. Tina Tangelakis of Della is described as having a ‘...love of art and humanitarian work’, beginning her work in Ghana as she became ‘enamoured with the culture and warm hearts of friends’ (Della, 2017b). Brand narratives become intrinsically linked to stories of altruistically motivated founders. This is similarly echoed by EDUN, who detailed that: ‘They fell under the charm of a constantly-changing continent in their own way. For over 20 years, the committed artist and his wife are convinced that African countries need trade...’ (LVMH, 2017). The value of Ali Hewson and Bono’s commitment is emphasized through their long-standing commitment to Africa. Stories surrounding the philanthropic efforts of multiple founders frame a Northern agent as an essential part of development.

However, six brands frame their interaction with employees as sites of mutual benefit, emphasising co-operation and shared value. People Tree, a long-established Fair Trade garment retailer, describes the relationship between the brand and suppliers as being a ‘close partnership’ (People Tree, 2017a). The purpose or mission statement of People Tree is expressed as ‘supporting producer partners’ efforts’. The emphasis is upon providing an appropriate complement to the needs of producer partners (People Tree, 2017a). These sentiments are similarly echoed by Stella McCartney, who expressed the brand’s interaction with the ITC UN Ethical Fashion Initiative as allowing partners to ‘thrive in association with the fashion industry’ (Stella McCartney, 2017a). Once more, an emphasis was placed on the importance of alliance or connection between brands and producers, rather than the heralding compelling narratives supporting the indispensable brand. Comparable results were retrieved on the e-commerce platforms of Khama, who narrated relationships of ‘collaboration’, and by Brother Vellies, who suggested their business was ‘relying on local artisans’ (Brother Vellies, 2017b; Khama, 2017a). It is relevant to note that Brother Vellies, Stella McCartney and Vivienne Westwood all use the services of the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative as a trading intermediary. There is a considerable difference between the marketing discourse displayed upon the three e-commerce platforms. Evidently production and marketing of ‘fashion for development’ products can differ significantly.

4.4.5. A New Agent: The Consumer?

In addition, the research revealed ‘fashion for development’ brands to be heavily emphasising the role of the consumer as a key agent in the development benefits leveraged. Consumer purchases equal direct development benefits, a powerful marketing tool. Six brands explicitly stressed the role of the consumer in providing or engaging in the provision of empowerment, employment, or development benefits (Krochet Kids, Sseko Sandals, Abury, Brother Vellies, Della, LK Bennett Kosovo). This direct connection between the consumer and the beneficiary is prominently displayed on several e-commerce platforms. For example, Krochet Kids described that: ‘together, we empower people to rise about poverty’ (2017). Their customers are then able

to access a database of beneficiaries and view an emotive profile of the garment manufacturer who produced their item. This functions as a powerful method of facilitating transparency within Krochet Kids, but additionally functions to convince the consumer of both the value and need of their purchase. This is further echoed by Sseko Sandals, who included ‘By wearing Sseko, you're providing opportunity and making a direct impact in the life of a woman,’ on product information pages (Sseko Designs, 2016). The consumer is able to view themselves as a powerful agitator of change through their consumer purchases. Similarly, Abury mediates concepts of consumer care and empathy on their website, through the utilisation of infographics beneath all products displayed. The infographic details the number of hours taken to manufacture the item and the corresponding number of hours reinvested within the local community in education. The consumer is assured of the impact made through their purchase. However, ASOS was the only e-commerce brand studied who suggested they were removing the consumer from the equation: We are continuously reviewing our buying habits so that customers don’t have to change theirs. (ASOS, 2017c) Converse to all other retailers examined, the corporate aim of ASOS is ‘empowering 20-somethings to look, feel and be their best so they can achieve amazing things’ (ASOS, 2017a). ASOS are maintaining existing purchasing conditions, empowering those in the Global North. The moralistic overtones of several brands surveyed (Krochet Kids, Sseko Sandals, Abury, and Della) suggest that purchases represent distinguishing or contrasting purchases to those of their contemporaries. Consumers are not just encouraged to be individual instigators of change through their purchases, but engage in communities of like-minded people. Purchases are presented as offering entrance into exclusive spaces of identity differentiation.

4.4.6. Selling Imagined Africa

The following section will explore the notion of ‘imagined Africa’. It is relevant to note that not all e-commerce retailers surveyed operate on the African continent. However, such is the prevalence of both imagery and corporate communications related to the experience of manufacturing on the African continent, that it was appropriate to address it separately. As an introduction to the expressions of Africa within the research, the luxury ethical brand EDUN provides a suitable preamble to subsequent findings.

The brand EDUN portrays itself as a pragmatic alternative to continued aid subsidies to the African continent. Facilitating trade through the creation of a luxury fashion brand to founders Ali Hewson and artist Bono provides a meaningful alternative to the perpetuation of dependency through aid. The conception of EDUN is expressed by the couple as a realization ‘...that African countries need trade, to grow their economies, and more consideration as business partners’ (LVMH, 2017). However, the verbalization of the ‘romance’ of Africa by the couple appears incongruent to their original claims. Hewson and Bono are described as falling ‘*under the charm*’ of the continent, a place they ‘...fell in love with’, one that they ‘...couldn’t think of a more romantic place to focus a fashion company’ (LVMH, 2017). Sourcing in Africa has presented a significant challenge to EDUN, in 2011 the company were only sourcing 37% of garment production on the continent (EDUN, 2017b). This has subsequently risen to 95% in 2014) Despite the high-profile failings of EDUN, both Hewson and Bono continue to characterize it as a rational business opportunity. It is difficult to argue with a founder who cites Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu as supporters’ (LVMH, 2017). However, EDUN, despite exhorting the pragmatic benefits of African garment production, promotes their business on notions of an imagined Africa. As Hewson describes: ‘...It just puts you under a spell the continent. There is such a raw beauty to the people and the landscape’ (LVMH, 2017). In addition, a cursory lexical analysis of Ali Hewson and Bono’s EDUN also supports the

conceptualization of the imagined Africa with EDUN. The name 'EDUN' itself sounds like Eden, the unspoilt paradise where the biblical account of Creation takes place. The name suggests the continent of Africa is a place not only of paradise but one which is unspoilt, pure. This conclusion is additionally supported by the reversal of EDUN, to spell 'nude'. The theme of the unspoilt or pure Africa is recurrent within several different ideas which appeared during the analysis of e-commerce retailers, into conceptions of; the natural, authenticity, the handmade, and the exotic.

It is pertinent to mention the previously beleaguered reputation of EDUN's production on the African continent when discussing it as an exemplar of sustainable production. Widespread media attention in 2010 brought into question both the viability and authenticity of ethical production on the African continent, when EDUN outsourced garment manufacture to China, after the continued delivery of sub-standard goods. The nature of celebrity advocacy in international development and the feasibility of the 'trade not aid' agenda were brought into question by several news outlets. Titles such as *'Made in China: The fashion line Bono and his wife founded to help African farmers'* (Bates, 2010), *'Out of Africa, Into Asia'* (Dodes, 2010), and unsparingly *'How Bono is Undermining African Entrepreneurs'* (Wade, 2010) appeared in a breath of mainstream international publications. Similar depictions of the African continent can be retrieved on a number of other e-commerce brands surveyed (5/15).

4.4.7. Retailing the 'other'.

It was also noted that the majority retailers surveyed went to great lengths to provide cultural and historical backgrounds of both the producers and objects sold within their e-commerce platforms. Such products are heavily laden with ideas of the exotic, cultural products imbued the sensuality and sex appeal of the fashion image. It appears that while many 'fashion for development' retailers seek to 'unveil' production processes, (or the lives of artisans or producers within the supply chain) they, in fact, give access to an imagined reality of production. Products are simultaneously unveiled or defetishized, whilst being 're-packed' or reimagined for the consumer in the Global North.

'Artisanal' products feature heavily amongst goods sold by 'fashion for development' retailers. The presence of an object produced by a distant 'Other', displayed within the home or exhibited upon the body, providing a source of significant meaning of external cultural realities, both real and imagined. To Said, Western comprehension of the 'Other', and the fetishisation of products created within this context are a result of complex historical, socio-political and cultural history; representing acts of 'willed human work' (1978, p. 15). Orientalism or 'Othering' may appear latent within the discourse of artisanal products but are reproduced and replicated as actions of deliberate intent, even though disguised as accidental ignorance. Following on from an understanding of Said's *'Orientalism'*, Phillips and Steiner discuss the object produced by the cultural Other as providing 'imagined access to a world of difference' which is pertinent here (1999, p. 3).

Imagery of exotic destinations, lustrous snapshots of distant locations is a common theme amongst many retailers retailing 'fashion for development' products. Products are retailed with the patina of tropical voyages; whether glamourized as chic jet-setting or disguised within the patina of foreign aid or Christian missions work.

Travel and the desirability of travel is displayed with prominence on the e-commerce website of Abury, a German retailer. The title page of the website portrays a tall slim white model striding

past a large wooden door. She is clothed in a large blue billowing kaftan, espadrilles and a leather handbag (part of Abury's new artisanal Berber Collection). The scene depicts typical Moorish or Moroccan architecture. Rich colours, the utilisation of evocative natural fabrics such as silk and polished leather market fashion products as items of powerful cultural significance, explicitly connecting them with the desirability of travel. Additionally, products produced by Abury may be found within the website organised by country of origin, through a categorisation enabled by a 'destination' tab. Although Abury forms the most complete example of the 'fashion for development' initiatives retailed through a promotion of travel and the exotic, threads of this theme can be found in a further four of the brands surveyed.

4.4.8. Descriptions of the Handmade and the Natural

It is relevant to explore the profusion of businesses surveyed who extoll the 'handmade' as both a key value and promotional characteristic of products sold. Several businesses surveyed within the research promote the 'handmade' as a desirable element of the fashion products sold within their businesses. Items sold on the Abury website are described as '*Handmade in Morocco*,' or '*100% Handmade*,' on product information pages. For example, a hot pink embroidered clutch bag is still sold with a strong emphasis on the 'natural' and 'handmade' elements of its creation, despite its fluorescent pink colouring '...handmade in the heart of Marrakech, each piece is embroidered with natural wool and playful multicolor sequins that bring a tropical flair to this strawlined collection' (ABURY, 2017b). The brand plays on the desirability of the handmade to sell objects within their 'fashion for development' enterprise. Additionally, playing on the notion of an exoticised location 'the heart of Marrakech' to promote its products. Moreover, EDUN emphasizes the appeal of 'hand fringed short sleeve crew neck top' (EDUN, 2017c). Della stress on their website that products are 'handmade by our team in Ghana' (Della, 2017a). Although, arguably in the case of Della products are manufactured on a sewing machine, presumably by hand, but like all other fashion garments. Furthermore, Ace & Jig also capitalize on the appeal of the handmade, bringing particular attention to production processes which utilise '...weaving on ancient wooden hand looms (Ace & Jig, 2017). A Vivienne Westwood handbag produced as part of her collaboration with UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative is produced with a distinctly 'African' patina. A small cross body handbag is described as:

... overlaid with red circles reminiscent of tribal body painting...hand shaped using natural sand and molasses moulds. Please note that this bag is an artisanal product made to be purposely unique. (2017a)

Once more, both the natural and the handmade are referenced in close succession to one and other. The Westwood brand capitalises on the perceived desirability of these elements of the handbag's production. Vivienne Westwood has received criticism in the past, due to the title of her collaboration with the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative – '*Ethical Africa Collection*' and her utilisation of the strapline '*Handmade with Love*' (Ladd, 2012; Brooks, 2013). Her collaboration is now, however, entitled '*Handmade with Love in Kenya*', a slight variant. Within Westwood's website, an 'Artisan Fashion' section is accessible. Clicking on the icon 'Artisan Fashion', a distinctive 'afro-beat' begins to play as images of Maasai in traditional beaded jewellery and woven tunics appear. It is not clear who these women displayed are, whether they are involved in the production of Westwood's collection, nor if they are in fact Maasai women. A video is played where impassioned Westwood employees speak of their 'eye-opening' experiences arriving on the African continent. Images of giraffes, zebras and ostriches create an evocative image of sun-scorched savannah landscapes of rural Kenya. Yet, it is unclear whether those employed by Westwood in a Nairobi slum have ever accessed this countryside. Cipriani,

the founder, speaks defiantly that designers are not attracted to Africa or a collaboration with EFI because of a romanticisation of the continent. However, a marketing campaign endorsed by the EFI subsisting on the promotion of ‘exotic’ images of a rural Africa brings this into question. Kenya is not named as the location of production, rather ‘Africa’ is more generally referenced. The combination of both the rural, the natural and the handmade appear to promote a *vision* of a natural, authentic Africa, the handmade adding a perceived purity to the production of goods. Whereas it is the exclusion of the artisans and producers working in enterprises such as Abury or ‘Handmade in Kenya’ from the formal industrialised economy, and the benefits of globalisation, which has created the need for development assistance. Additionally, Hickey notes that the consumption of objects, and in particular craft objects is not an exercise solely hinged upon position, but also on processes of ‘differentiation and identity’ (Hickey, 1997). The desirability of the craft object is held in part by the attributes the consumer views it has possessing – ‘products of inspiration’, qualities which the consumer does not have. The intended consumer perceives products, and craft in particular, as holding particular qualities which they themselves lack, hence their desirability and value. Ladd paraphrases these qualities inherent in crafted products as ‘creativity, inspiration and skill’ (2012, p. 41). The promotion of the ‘handmade’ offers access to these prized skills, and a perceived escape from the technological metropolis, to the rural village.

However, People Tree, a UK based ethical fashion brand run by fashion activist Safia Minney, is the only business surveyed which delves deeper into the methodology of the handmade. Within their website, a section explicitly discusses the value of design decision making on development in the Global South - ‘Design for Development’, People Tree states:

If one of our designers is presented with two ways of creating something, and one method requires more labour – such as hand weaving – then they will specify this method of production. People Tree’s designers are constantly looking for opportunities to add hand work – such as embroidery and block printing – to garments to create work. (2017b)

People Tree’s utilisation of handmade appears not to be rooted in a romanticisation of this method of production. But rather in a conscious choice to engage with and facilitate the growth of rural economies. The method of production promoted by People Tree: connecting with partner co-operatives and existing producer groups, allows for independence out-with of People Tree orders. Co-operatives can sell both to other suppliers and to domestic retailers. The terminology used by People Tree differs from that of other businesses reviewed, as they describe their desire to “support” co-operatives towards “economic independence”, and their desire for producer partners to hold “control over their local environment and community” (2017a). However, this must be viewed contextually within an understanding of historical and current power inequalities. For a more detailed comparison, a brass necklace on People Tree’s e-commerce site is described as a: “Minimal Post Necklace in Brass - Chain necklace with rectangular pendant, handcrafted in brass,” alongside a picture of a Western model wearing the necklace (2017c). At the bottom of the page the necklace is further described as: “Made by Bombolulu. Bombolulu is a fair trade social business in Kenya that creates beautiful handmade jewellery. They provide opportunities for people who have physical disabilities” (2017c). Perceived knowledge regarding the nature of production does not appear to be wrapped in the promotion of the product in the same fashion as those previously illustrated. Very similar methodologies regarding the utilisation of handmade production processes are supported by both Brother Vellies, and ASOS. Artisanal shoe brand, Brother Vellies expresses their use of the handmade as:

Most of the production process for our shoes is done by hand, ensuring that only a limited number of machines are required on premises. This keeps our energy consumption low and our employment numbers high. (Brother Vellies, 2017b)

Encouraging handmade production is a pragmatic development response. Additionally, ASOS also identify the value of the handmade within their 'sustainable sourcing' criteria:

Handmade/handwoven: Made by hand or made with materials and/or techniques that utilise hand-driven machinery, providing employment and income for millions of households around the world. (ASOS, 2017d)

To conclude, the promotion of the handmade held varied responses amongst retailers surveyed. Within some businesses, the discourse related to the handmade was uncomfortable, where outdated views of the value and connotations of craft production surfaced, peddling romantic versions of 'authentic' rural life. In contrast, several other retailers utilized handmade production as a method of including the marginalized and leveraging greater employment.

4.4.9. Design and Paternalism

Within literature related to development assistance in the Global South, paternalism was presented as a process inherent within several programs operated between Western designers and artisans in the Global South. Conceptualisations of inequitable or discriminatory practices associated with humanitarian design and empowerment programs within the textiles sector received scathing reviews from prominent academics within the design field such as Scrase, Murray, Ladd and Brown. Emphasis is placed upon the Global North as both bearer and possessor of market access and design expertise, the Global South is positioned as a source of skilled artisanal production. Murray identifies that 'there is an implied alternative narrative that conceives a developmental framework for craft, whereby a maker eventually ascends to the position of designer.' (2010, p. 61) Murray's thoughts latently reflect in a number of the e-commerce platforms analysed. Producers and artisans are discussed as providing craft expertise, rather than design knowledge related to augmenting their work to the export market.

The ABURY website describes collaboration with a well-known German designer, Dorothee Schumacher with traditional rug makers in Douar Anzal, Morocco. The web page detailed the design collaboration is described as follows:

The path towards the final Berber-Rug was not a short one. Without a doubt, the first samples were beautiful, but did not represent the preferred colouring taste from the west quite yet. Sometimes a lot of colours are too many colours. (ABURY Foundation, 2017)

This process is articulated as an exercise in 'common learning' permitting artisans to be 'self-sustainable' by 'learning to use their talents'. Evidently, there is considerable value in facilitating appropriate market access to artisans, a lack of knowledge regarding import duty, value-added tax, and pricing present considerable barriers to effective export. Moreover, an absence of information regarding current trends and colour palettes function as additional obstacles to successful commercial relationships. However, it is appropriate to question the design response offered to artisans within the Global South. The obstacles featured above represent barriers widespread amongst many young designers in the United Kingdom. The phrasing of 'common learning' by ABURY is a relative misnomer, it is unclear how the

Dorothee Schumacher collaboration represents any sort of reciprocal exchange. Rather, ABURY establishes itself as both protector and custodian of the Berber Rug knitter:

To preserve the crafts is only a way of preserving the culture and is, in addition, a reflection of a beautiful and rich cultural identity that is hopefully saved from getting lost. (ABURY Foundation, 2017)

The traditional designs produced by the Berber artisans are characterised by ABURY as being ‘too many colours’ for the Western consumer. Their work is appreciated, but only when adjusted by the ABURY design team. The formal skill of Berber Rug knitting is perhaps preserved, but traditional design expression is subdued or muted through ABURY design direction. A more empowering or less contentious method may be to supply artisans with appropriate trend forecasting resources when producing rugs for export. This approach would provide a better example of a collaborative design response. Although ABURY articulates itself as a saviour for traditional crafts, the rugs now produced by these co-operatives are a design product mediated by the Global North. In addition, ABURY has arguably facilitated a homogenisation of Berber rugs through the introduction of the program across several new cooperatives. ABURY remains a pertinent example of paternalism latent within the design process, women are described as collaborators, but under examination perform merely as outsourced workers catering to the design demands of the ABURY customer.

4.4.10. Design Facilitation

However, a variety of perspectives on design facilitation were presented by the e-commerce retailers reviewed. Methodologies utilised by several businesses showcase refreshing and markedly more intuitive attitudes towards the value and meaning of co-design, within the ‘empowerment’ narrative. The inclusion of the following cases reads as a decidedly positive portrayal of the ‘fashion for development’ landscape. However, several businesses are not included because discourse concerned with design is absent from their online presence. Many businesses analysed within the research project operate within the traditional bounds of retailer-supplier relationships, i.e. contracting goods from producers designed within a head office in the Global North. These businesses work with suppliers across the world, to whom the retailer remains as only one source of business, such as; People Tree, EDUN, SOKO Kenya, Ace and Jig, and those facilitated by the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative, Vivienne Westwood, Stella McCartney and Brother Vellies. Examples of initiatives where the supplier in the Global North is the instigator of the initiative or social enterprise and remains their sole contractor are; Krochet Kids, Sseko Sandals and Della.

Turning now to the evidence of methodologies supporting co-creation and facilitating design decision making amongst producers, several e-commerce retailers appear to be positively engaged. Khama, a socially motivated fashion manufacturing business in Malawi, describe themselves as being:

...built on collaboration between designers, creatives and makers in London and Kasungu, Malawi. We believe in exceptional design and work with a variety of artisans and makers in our workshop in the town as well as in the surrounding villages to handcraft beautiful, unique items. (Khama, 2017a)

Design collaboration between producers and the Khama team is characterized as a process of cooperation. Elaine Burke, founder of Khama emphasises that she was interested in ‘the group’s

creativity, introducing design' (Khama, 2017a). Creativity seems not to be utilized as a trivial buzz word but as evidence of going collaboration. Khama includes a profile of an employee on their website, who is described as:

Always in high spirits and with a great sense of humour, she immediately told us that her designs were better, so we asked her to show us what she could do. And she was right, when we next visited she'd created a design we really love, and are now planning to produce in bulk for our clients. (Khama, 2017b)

Upon discovering design talent latent with their current employee base, Khama appears as to have altered their current season in response to the superior designs provided by their employee. Nevertheless, it could be argued that these design interventions represent the craft sector, rather than those employed within garment manufacturing. Khama produces both handicraft items and women's clothing. However, an additional profile of a garment technologist, Lizzie, included on the website delineates how:

Since joining KHAMA, we've helped her to develop her creative skills, and she now also feeds into the design process. She is particularly good at making garments, and takes on a lot of independent work making children's dresses. (Khama, 2017c)

Facilitating design skills in garment construction fed into the production of clothing for the Khama brand, but has fostered increased independence from Khama as an organisation. The apprehension of design expertise by Lizzie has enabled her to sell bespoke children's clothing to the domestic market. Furthermore, expressions of co-creation processes and the promotion of design learning. A CSR initiative by LK Bennett, employing former female survivors of the Kosovan war, engages in collaborative design practices. Their website delineates how they have: '...embarked on a meaningful collaboration, working with Women for Women International Kosovan training graduates to co-design three limited-edition shoes' (LK Bennett UK, 2017). Even within a relatively short-term CSR project, participatory design practices are supported. The Women for Women Charity leader, Brita Fernandez Schmidt, describes how this has enabled an additional collaboration with a retailer in Germany, furthering the project outside of the original remit. In addition, EDUN also describes themselves as resourcing '...sustainable growth opportunities by supporting manufacturers, community-based initiatives and partnering with African artists and artisans' (EDUN, 2017b). The inclusion of the word 'artist' indicates that perhaps indigenous design thinking is filtering into the design decisions made by EDUN, who proclaim to be providing an: 'expression of a new Africa, steeped in dynamism, creativity and a spirit of enterprise' (LVMH, 2017). Some products within their website are labelled with details of producer cooperatives supplying EDUN. However, the website remains opaque as to who these collaborative partners, designers or artists may be. Without clear accreditation individual design work by any indigenous designers on the continent are homogenized and covered by EDUN, remaining solely within the position of a company who 'draws its inspiration' from the African continent (LVMH, 2017).

These results suggest that within e-commerce sites operating 'fashion for development' initiatives, there appears to be varied responses to the value of design with development. A multifarious picture of the development landscape and design is presented. Positive results of the introduction of design training from both Khama and LK Bennett and prospectively within EDUN, suggest that the introduction of design thinking or skill training is a valuable element of enabling employees to become independent. However, it is pertinent to remain aware of how the voice of the artisan or garment factory worker is 'mediated' through the Western agent (Murray,

2010, p. 71). There appears to value in the promotion of design skill training, however, as Murray constructively assesses: ‘as world craft production becomes increasingly collaborative, there is an increasing need for tools by which such collaboration can be verified’ (Murray, 2010, p. 71). In the case of ABURY, the lack of design training has resulted in an overriding paternalistic regarding the actions of the Berber rug knitters employed.

4.4.11. Conclusion

To conclude, the above section has presented the diverging discourses within the marketing on e-commerce platforms of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. A range of results concerned with the marketing and promotion of goods produced by ‘fashion for development’ initiatives have been assessed. The results differ slightly from those initially presented by Lamrad and Hanlon (2014), suggesting that good and bad practices exist within the online discourses of ‘fashion for the development’ initiatives. The implications of these findings will be presented in the ensuing discussion.

CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

Following the presentation of findings in Chapter 4, the ensuing chapter will critically discuss these results considering the prior state of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, as outlined in the literature review. Reflection on the wider practical or societal relevance of the thesis also be put forth. Future recommendations for research will additionally be presented, as will the limitations of the current study.

The research project produced multifarious results, interrelated but often diverse and tangential. This is partially a consequence of the initial objective of the research to map and understand discourse related to ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. Many results located with the research project merit individual consultation and would provide meritorious avenues for further study; such routes will be latterly discussed. However, the project was designed to provide initial rendering of the topic, mapping the varieties of methodologies, organisational structures and discourses employed within ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. The discussion provides a contextualisation of findings concerned with the positive development benefits wrought by ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, as described by professional stakeholders interviewed. The subsequent discussion will examine the methodologies and objectives framed by both interviewees and recent reporting amongst the ILO, OCED, IDS, and prominent international development organisations. In addition, research collated from leading academic journals, such as *Management Science* and the *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, will also be utilised to confirm and compare results. Results produced within the current study corroborate findings reported within previous work within this field. The section will systematically discuss the various methodologies employed by interviewees, revealed in the research, to maximise development gains leveraged through fashion manufacture, and outline the various barriers communicated.

The discussion will primarily be grouped into three sections mirroring those exposed within Chapter 4, each addressing contextually relevant issues to the results at hand. The first section will explore tangential articulations of agency and dependency within the data generated. The implications of current organisational structures of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives will be discussed. Particular attention will be paid to how dependency and empowerment of beneficiaries was negotiated by professional stakeholders and e-commerce brands alike. Thematically relevant results from both the interviews and desktop research will be brought alongside this discussion, to better illuminate how the intent to empower and develop beneficiaries is currently understood. Following this, the second section provides a constructive argument of how development is understood and practiced by those involved with fashion manufacture, detailing methodologies employed. Lastly, the divergent results from the desktop research will be explored, providing a discursive exchange on how methodologies employed by professional stakeholders are subsequently cannibalised and reinterpreted as marketing.

5.2. Section One: Tangential Articulations of Agency and Dependency

The following section furthers understanding of how professional stakeholders and e-commerce brands within the research expressed their intent towards international development, particularly regarding agency and dependency. This has been primarily analysed through the lens of Amartya Sen's (1999) 'development as freedom' or 'capability approach'. A summative evaluation of the research findings, as to what extent they hinder or facilitate freedoms, reveals their efficacy. Care had been paid to articulations of empowerment and dependency through both discourse and the organisational structures analysed.

5.2.1. Assessing Freedoms

'Fashion for development' initiatives may positively contribute to international development, as revealed through the constructive and nuanced discourse amongst professional stakeholders interviewed. Consultation of development professionals, trade facilitators, and socially motivated garment manufacturers established a profitable dialogue disclosing the intent of current practitioners. The methodologies employed suggested that current application of 'fashion for development' amongst interviewees held constructive elements germane to Sen's (1999) 'development as freedom' approach. It can be argued that several methods described by interviewees efficaciously service the 'capability approach' to development. This is particularly evident in capacity building activities currently served by 'fashion for development' practitioners; from the provision of advanced garment manufacturing skills, management training, entrepreneurial education, the provision of external qualifications, and operational guidance. These techniques serve the autonomy of garment worker, for instance, constructive skills are provided in lieu of simple employment. Beneficiaries are furnished with the capacity to engage in commercial activity beyond that of the original agent. These findings are particularly compelling considering recent research in export-oriented factories in Ethiopia. Blattman and Dercon's (2017) study suggests that economic wellbeing of workers (of which one fifth were garment workers) did not improve over a twelve-month period. Workers had poorer health outcomes than that of a control group, who continued in agricultural activity or small scale trading. An additional group were provided with an 'entrepreneurship' program, and a small 'start-up' grant, which raised earnings by 33%. Blattman and Dercon report that 'when barriers to self-employment were relieved, applicants preferred entrepreneurial to industrial labour' (2017, p. 1), despite steady hours offered by industrial (garment) employment. Therefore, employment in 'fashion for development' schemes, which offer entrepreneurial training may be a valuable intermediary, extending the benefits of both employment and entrepreneurial skills. Sixty percent of 'fashion for development' initiatives analysed, across both professional stakeholders and e-commerce brands, offer business skills or entrepreneurial training.

The results suggest that 'fashion for development' models may offer innovative methodologies to access development gains, particularly through the provision of training alongside gainful employment. Furthermore, many of the capacity building skills currently offered by professional stakeholders may serve to enhance equity between garment workers and Northern agents. One pertinent example would be Heather Smith's discussion regarding the provision of healthcare to workers, 'supplying the benefits would expect in a developed country,' or the successful management training scheme (2017). The discourse supplied by interviewees appeared to nuanced and receptive response to development intervention, with the intent to sustain long-term self-sustaining initiatives. However, it is pertinent to consider that this summation may be geographically tied to the African continent, due to the relative infancy of

garment manufacturing industry. The findings may not enable the same results in different location in the Global South, such as Bangladesh, a well-established manufacturing hub. The value of self-employment and the opportunity to ‘dip in and out’ of industrialised manufacturing jobs may not exist elsewhere.

However, it is possible to further explore the delivery of ‘freedoms’ within the ‘fashion for development’ initiatives surveyed through the organisational structures utilised. As previously iterated, several enterprises operate as suppliers to retailers or brands in the Global North. Five of the e-commerce brands function as subsidiaries of the parent brands. Whilst subsidiary initiatives benefit from the exclusive ‘care’ of the parent brand, they are in turn wholly dependent on continuing business. Supplier models can benefit from increased sales from varying retailers, and are more flexible in regards to responding to the local market or fluctuating trends. These results are particularly illuminating considering recent research from Georgetown University, on the creation of a ‘social enterprise supplier model’ in rural Rwanda. Instigated by US based accessory designer Kate Spade & Company, the model attests to the beneficial experience of employment within a socially considerate enterprise, delivering considerable economic and social benefits (Soule *et al.*, 2017). Most compelling, however, was the provision an empowering employment environment through the creation of a supplier rather than a subsidiary. Inherent to the initiation of the ‘social enterprise supplier model’ was the desire to facilitate the on-going sustainability of the enterprise, beyond integration with Kate Spade and Company. The social enterprise created by Kate Spade and Company now operates as a business separate to its original parent company. The research project suggests that Soule *et al.*’s study is successfully reproduced in similar economic socio-political locations, as reported by interviewees. This considerably strengthening Soule *et al.* tender towards the replication of the ‘social enterprise supplier model’. However, further research may seek to assess whether the supplier models within the current study replicate those of Soule *et al.* in practice. However, the research does reveal that there is considerable scope for the furthering of the ‘social enterprise supplier model’, revealed in the discourse of professional stakeholders interviewed. The current research adds to the recommendation presented by Soule *et al.*, suggesting that the ‘social enterprise supplier model’ has successfully co-opted by other brands and development organisations.

Germane to the topic of enabling autonomy of workers, are results concerned with the operation of charitable/commercial hybrids. Charitable funds were used to deliver the development benefits of the fashion manufacturer. This organisational construction was utilised in several different ways; to fund the initial capacity building of the enterprise or EPZ, to deliver healthcare or community benefits, or to fund the delivery of ongoing capacity building benefits. Soule *et al.* found the ‘social enterprise supplier model’ the instigation of a \$0.50 per unit ‘social impact fee’, to fund the wider development benefits of the business. It is difficult at this point to appraise the differences between these two methodologies, rather, it is preferable to view them as two complementary mechanisms utilised to meet development needs, i.e. initial mapping. This is where ‘fashion for development’ initiatives diverge from ameliorative practices in current GVCs or supply chains, as operations with direct development intent. It may be pertinent to question the role of charitable funding in the ongoing sustainability of market-led development interventions. Few ‘fashion for development’ initiatives examined operated exclusive to charitable funds or partners, suggesting that the current iteration of ‘trade not aid’ with regards to fashion manufacture is not wholly market-dependent. A further discussion regarding changing funding streams is initiated below.

5.2.2. *Financing for Independence*

Dissent regarding the disabling or repressive nature of development aid, sanctioned through official governmental streams or charitable giving, was prevalent upon just under half of e-commerce platforms. Traditional forms of ‘development’ was commented upon negatively by one stakeholder, however, the interviews revealed a latent disapproval of charitable giving amongst several stakeholders. The value of self-initiated, self-determined and sustainable employment or entrepreneurial activity indicates the perspective of the clear majority of professional stakeholders. Many of the organisations through which interviewees were employed or latterly own exist to ratify, enable, or stimulate equitable trade relations in garment production. This finding is further established in the clear articulation by the majority of interviewees (6/7) regarding the value of employment within garment manufacture. This result was additionally echoed amongst the e-commerce brands surveyed, all which employ artisans or garment workers within their organisations. Ten e-commerce brands directly referenced employment over aid or charitable giving as a key aspect of their development methodology. Several studies over the past ten years have examined the deficiencies of foreign aid (Adelman and Eberstadt, 2008). Likewise numerous scholars have engaged critical examinations of latent paternalistic colonial thought within prior development research (Escobar, 1999; Pieterse, 2000; Andreasson, 2005; Ndi, 2011; Strongman, 2014). The vast majority of current literature concedes that official development assistance fails to effect demonstrable difference on macroeconomic growth (Adelman and Eberstadt, 2008). This does not preclude the value of disaster aid or health care initiatives within development discourse, but rather is related to development assistance routed as a form of inciting economic development. DFID’s most recent regional report on the African continent discusses a prioritisation of ‘harnessing the potential of new trade relationships, creating jobs and channeling investment to the world’s poorest countries.’ (DFID and UK AID, 2017). The thoughts of professional stakeholders, and methodologies utilised by e-commerce brands appear to echo larger policy augmentations in the international environment. Their intent could be surmised as a response to a failing aid environment.

Forms of self-sustaining income have been prioritised as valuable elements of enabling self-reliance and severing ties of dependency upon agents in the Global North. Employment, particularly under equitable or Fair Trade conditions appears as a both a palatable and ultimately desirable form of conducting civil responsibility without the destructive repercussions of neo-colonialism. This is reiterated in the increasing integration of Fair Trade practice within fashion manufacture, amongst consumers and practitioners alike. People Tree would be an exemplar of the successful integration of Fair Trade practice with both garment manufacture and procurement. However, this result may be a reflection of dwindling aid resources, without sustainable capital flows from traditional sources the international development community has looked elsewhere. A stagnation in international development funds from traditional sources, e.g. overseas development assistance (ODA), international NGOs and charities following the 2008 financial crisis has renewed interest amongst the development community to assess the variety of ‘new actors’ (Adelman, 2009; Miller *et al.*, 2013). A report from The Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID) delineates that ‘continued reliance on these old allies is not a reliable option for a sustainable financial future’ (2013, p. 12). Mindful of this AWID stress the value of cross sector collaboration (Miller *et al.*, 2013). Collaborative initiatives between both the private and public sector have been prioritised by a number of prominent development agencies (Adelman and Eberstadt, 2008; Miller *et al.*, 2013). A range of corporate actors have emerged leveraging a variety of market-led activities (Miller *et al.*, 2013; Ponte and

Richey, 2014). It seems possible that the rhetoric found amongst professional stakeholders and e-commerce brands alike represents a mirroring of current debate with development, and an active rearticulating of dwindling resources. The following illustration has been created to illuminate the variety of agents who appeared within the data generation, demonstrating the funding elements between two professional stakeholders interviewed: PMIA and MMB (see Figure 7).

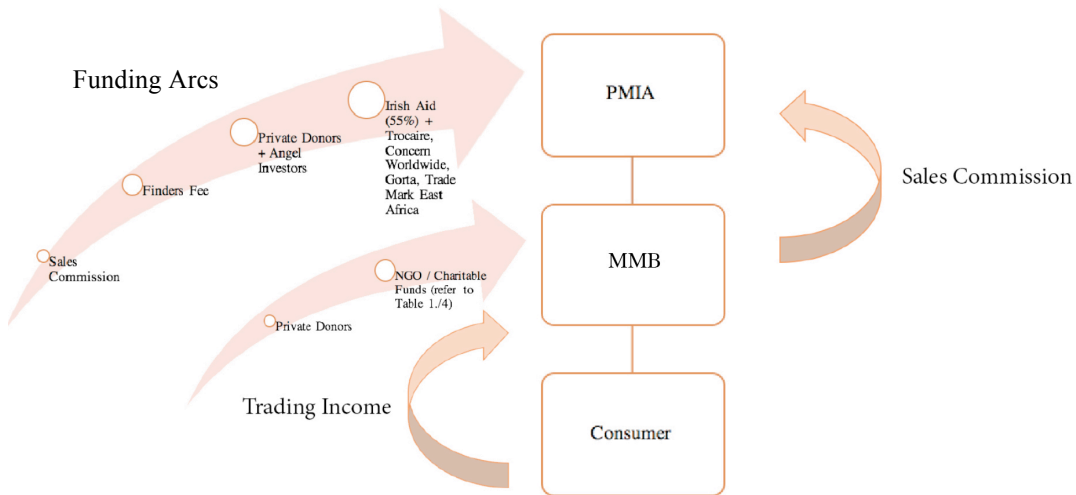


Figure 7: Black, J. 2017. *Funding Streams between PMIA and MMB*. [infographic] Private collection: Julia Black

It is pertinent to then surmise that in light of diminishing aid budgets ‘fashion for development’ initiatives have collated a range of new, and old, funding sources. On first appearance, many of the initiatives analysed manifest as commercial enterprises, leveraging market forces for development. However, as illustrated above, many ‘old’ funding sources have been reconstituted into new means. These results broadly echo the criteria advocated by Blowfield and Dolan (2014) through which to assess businesses as ‘development agents’. Namely, the distribution of commercial assets for an ‘expected, calculated development benefit’ regardless of profit motivations, and the inclusion of the ‘poor’ into these GVCs (2014, p. 26).

5.3. Section Two: Methodologies of Development

Pragmatic discussions amongst interviewees concerning engagement with the AfT agenda revealed findings concurrent with those reported within leading international development organisations. All interviewees framed fashion manufacture as a potentially valuable tool to facilitate international development. These findings match those outlined in previous studies. The European Commission considers engagement with the apparel and textile sector to be a valuable opportunity to implement ‘the core visions of the 2030 Agenda’ (EU, 2017, p.5). The sector is presented as a key way in which to globally influence poverty alleviation, the empowerment of women, create ‘inclusive growth’ and foster ‘global partnerships’ (2017, p.5). Facilitating positive development gains through the garment and textile industry is argued as a key ‘tool to promote higher social and environmental standards’ (2017, p.8). Or as Fukuniski et al. outline in the 2013 report ‘*Aid for Trade and Value Chains in Textiles and Apparel*’, a “‘fertile” sector for the Global South as it potentially ‘bears fruits at many pieces of the chain’

(2013, p. 43). Rather than a sector in need ameliorative reform, fashion manufacture is arguably reframed as a valuable tool within the larger development landscape.

The findings largely represent development initiatives within Sub-Saharan Africa. Studying the development response on the African continent was not the original intent of the research, however, it emerged latterly from the research. There are several possible reasons for this result. Firstly, data collected from both interviewees and amongst ecommerce brands analysed within the desktop research, primarily represent North to South initiatives (i.e. development aid/assistance or commercial funding flows from the Global North to South). Most LDCs identified by the UN are within the African continent, making it a prime location for development assistance. DFID has recently launched an ambitious new AFT programme, 'Invest in Africa', directing £400 million of foreign direct investment to 'productive sections – such as manufacturing' (DFID, 2016). This initiative places the UK that's the largest European investor in Africa, posed to generate ~90,000 in Kenya alone (DFID, 2016). Arguably a historic focus on Africa as an 'impoverished' continent could have motivated the philanthropically engaged actors (interviewees and brands) to engage.

5.3.1. Development through the provision of waged work

Actors from both the commercial and charitable sector conceptualised this as the primary value of fashion manufacture. The provision of waged work is often framed within literature as a meritorious contribution towards eradicating poverty, and to some of unparalleled value towards the employment of women in LDCs (Kabeer and Mahmud, 2004; Kabeer, 2008). Garment production is considered by many as a 'entry-point' industry to wider industrialisation (Distelhorst *et al.*, 2015; Gereffi *et al.*, 2001). Forward movement towards industrialised economies is largely informed by diluted conceptions of modernisation theory, concerned with progression towards 'modern' conceptions of waged and efficient work. Interviewees presented waged work as a constructive method of enabling agency, empowerment and self-determination amongst beneficiaries in the Global South. This was additionally congruent amongst all ecommerce platforms surveyed with the desktop research.

A clear majority of interviewees detailed that the provision of employment was the key contribution offered towards development by fashion manufacture, and primarily amongst women. Employment within 'fashion for development' enterprises was presented as an effective alternative to aid-dependency. However, ecommerce brands and interviewees arguably put forward normative judgements concerning both the desire for waged factory or artisanal work amongst employees. Notably missing from the current research project are the voices of garment workers and artisans. Waged work was discussed by several interviewees as a desirable form of employment, with few commercial actors questioning the appeal of work within garment production. This is in contrast to a recent study of industrial employment in Ethiopia drew surprising conclusions regarding the desirability of industrialised employment. The study reported that Ethiopian workers found industrial employment¹ to offer low wages and hazardous working environments, and detailed a marked increase in self-reported health complaints. Few employees chose to retain their positions beyond a few months, the majority utilising waged employment to 'cope with adverse shocks', effectively tiding workers over until more appealing work appeared (Blattman and Dercon, 2017, p. 1). Blanket statements proffering the value of waged industrial employment within Sub-Saharan Africa appear paternalistic. The agency conferred from the reliable income leveraged by employment in the formal economy, is thought

equal to agential forms of citizenship, by interviewees and ecommerce brands alike. Naila Kabeer, Professor of Gender and Development at LSE, reports from findings in Bangladesh, that not all forms of industrialised employment equate to ‘equal access routes to citizenship’ (2008, p. 90). She discusses the varied nature of waged employment for women, arguing the diversity within waged work within both the formal and informal sectors negates sweeping statements concerning ‘empowerment’ being applied. For example, Kabeer argues the distributed nature of the informal economy can potentially hamper the organisation of women who may wish to collectively bargain for their rights, or in other contexts, the informal economy may provide the time and space need to collectively organise. Fear reported by female Bangladeshi garment workers, hampered unionising efforts because of poor alternatives to industrialised garment manufacture (2008, p. 55).

This argument has not been initiated to argue against the value of waged work, or facilitating employment within the formal economy. But rather, it better colours both the normative judgements about the desires of beneficiaries or workers towards waged work by both interviewees and ecommerce brands. Waged work within garment manufacture has shown to produce positive impacts on the social standing of female workers, and wrought enhanced quality of life in comparison to rural peers, see Kabeer (2002) and Hewett and Amin (2000). However, it is necessary to consider the cultural, social and political landscape in which much of this research is conducted, Bangladesh. The growing garment and textiles sector in Sub-Saharan Africa may engender completely different results on wellbeing, savings, citizenship. Indeed, even the geographical area of Sub-Saharan Africa is wildly more diverse, disparate and varied to the Bangladeshi response. Recent news reports regarding garment manufacture in Ethiopia offer a more nuanced appreciation of the difficulties of implanting a new industry in Sub Saharan Africa. Mike Flanagan, of Just-Style, suggests that current development plans form a vertically integrated garment manufacturing hub in Ethiopia has created ‘intense suffering for its most vulnerable citizens’ (Flanagan, 2016). The creation of valuable jobs within the formal economy is a laudable government aim, however, as Flanagan reports the expropriation of land, increases in cotton production over domestic food production, and the routing of rail lines across habited land has caused immediate hardship for the most powerless of Ethiopia’s citizens (Flanagan, 2016). Few of the nuances of waged work were offered by either interviewees or the ecommerce brands surveyed. Employment within garment manufacture in Sub Saharan Africa may offer an effective alternative to aid dependency, however, the current discourse amongst professions remains at a narrow stage. Employment, to many, is seen as an end in itself. Wider discussion of enabling citizenship was not initiated within the interviews nor within the ecommerce platforms.

5.3.2. Future Opportunities: Vertically-Integrated Supply Chains

The majority of interviewees reported a desire to engage or work within vertically integrated supply chains on the African continent. For some, this was presented as a desire to further the value of trade on the continent, retaining high-value labour processes within Africa. For other interviewees, the need for vertically integrated production was borne of the high logistical costs of importing cotton into Africa for garment manufacture. Yet to others, the need was driven by consumer demand for plainer, more environmentally responsible fabrics. There are similarities between the attitudes expressed by the interviewees in this study and those described by the European Commission (2017) and the OCED (Fukunishi *et al.*, 2013). Vertical integration is discussed by Fukunishi *et al.* (2013) as a valuable method of increasing the value-add opportunity. This is echoed by Gereffi *et al.*, who discuss vertical integration as a constructive method of leveraging additional value for commercial enterprises in LDCs looking to merge

more effectively into GVCs (2001, p. 6). A more recent report, The Kenyan Textile and Fashion Industry Report suggests that vertical integration would create commercial competitiveness of East African apparel and textile sector, due to ‘faster turnaround times’ (HIVOS and Equity Bank, 2016, p. 15). Thoughts expressed by interviewees echo wider EU interest in supporting sustainable cotton cultivation practices in West Africa. A recent EU-Africa partnership has successfully instructed 500,000 cotton farmers in West Africa in the sustainable cultivation practices, supporting the decontamination of cotton agriculture. Additionally, several SMEs in West Africa received funding to produce small runs of artisanal woven cotton for export to luxury markets in Europe. (EU, 2017, p. 8). However, pilot studies of luxury textile production cannot currently be extrapolated to the mass manufacturing needs, and additionally, as evidenced by Ladd (2012), an exercise fraught with difficulty. Interviewee interest in a vertically integrated fashion and textile industry reflects larger public and charitable sector involvement with the topic. Borne of both commercial concern and a desire to increase the development impacts of current garment based interventions. The results reflect the merging of commercial and charitable interest in garment manufacture for development. However, it is relevant to note the unsuccessful nature of vertical integration in Sub-Saharan Africa so far. Interviewees speculated over their desire for vertically integrated cotton rather than their current action. Fukuniski *et al.* (2013) report that the vertical integration of cotton supply chains has been particularly unsuccessful in LDCs. Irrespective of governmental or donor funding. They speculated this is due to the capital-intensive processes involved in their creation (2013, p. 36). The following section addresses further barriers furthering the development or capital impact of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives reported by interviewees.

5.3.3. Barriers to Increased Impact

A number of interviewees perceived there to be several significant barriers to ongoing trade within Sub-Saharan Africa. Obstacles ranged from; a lack of appropriate financing, a scarcity of relevantly training staff, to problematic infrastructure – erratic electricity supplies, poor access to shipping routes etc. The findings observed in this study mirror those of the previous studies that have examined the barriers experienced by domestic suppliers to engaging in GVCs, particularly within an East African context. Reports detail ‘micro challenges’, which are reiterated within the current research, from lack of appropriate textiles, poor access to capital, a lack of appropriately skilled workers, and entry into the ‘formal retail market’ (HIVOS and Equity Bank, 2016, p. 28). Similar results are echoed in joint OECD-WTO report, delineating barriers to GVC integration amongst LDC suppliers within garment and textiles sector. Findings corroborate those found within the current research, where respondents reported barriers such as ‘access to trade finance’, ‘customs paper work or delays’, ‘high import duties’, ‘shipping costs and delays’, and infrastructure issues such as unsatisfactory electricity supply and poor transport links (Fukunishi *et al.*, 2013, p. 28) A lack of access to non-African textiles, i.e. greige cloth - plain cotton lawn, jersey, denim, was identified as a significant barrier by two interviewees. A scarcity of appropriate textiles is reflected in a number of reports examining similar themes, for example; Fukunishi *et al.*, (2013) and HIVOS (2016). Arguably, findings reported within the current research study reflect wider issues faced across Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly amongst those directly engaged in facilitating the ‘aid for trade’ agenda. However, many of the research respondents within the current study are engaged in innovative ways of overcoming and leveraging value within GVCs in Sub-Saharan African. As illustrated within the findings, methodologies such as; the installation of solar panels, consolidating shipments, utilising ethical agents (i.e. EEA and PMIA), have enabled those interviewed to integrate into GVCs. The current findings represent the key ways in which Western intervention or the ‘aid for trade’ agenda is facilitating effective trade from Sub Saharan Africa to the USA/EU/UK. The

disagreeable trading circumstances detailed above present considerable barriers to engagement for the interviewees surveyed, the relationships and finances facilitated by interviewees within the research ensure continued trade.

5.4. Section Three: The Marketing of Development

The final section of the discussion deals with the marketing of development on e-commerce platforms, and examines the potential effects of development consumption on wider civil society. As evidenced within the literature review, international development is an intensely divisive and politically charged topic. Lamrad and Hanlon suggest that ‘fashion for development’ initiatives allow consumers to directly engage in structures which bolster civil reform, making the act of global responsibility and action accessible (2014). Narratives revealed with the desktop research support this conclusion, from; empowerment and developmental discourse, the retailing of the ‘other’, to the recapitulation of the consumer as an agent within development. Nine of the fifteen e-commerce brands analysed presented a dialogue with their marketing which emphasized both the role of the consumer and brand, in facilitating the employment provided. As iterated within the results section, employment was discussed as being *given* or *bestowed* upon artisans or workers by Northern brands. The complexities of development are reduced to the simple act of consumption. Banks and Hulme argue that the retail of products explicitly tied to development results in:

...a disconnection of a global civil society in the West in which repackaging, branding and marketing of development teaches us not that we have to be a global citizen, but that our priority must be to be a socially responsible consumer. (2014, p. 193)

Alleviating poverty, an essential site for the enactment of collective responsibility, is reinterpreted as a site for the promotion of the individual. Singer’s ‘The Drowning Child’ (2009) analogy is ‘satisfied’ in the site of ethical consumption. The consumer no longer needs to engage in the ethical dilemma presented by Singer, i.e. determining whether to direct discretionary funds towards the furnishing of a glamorous wardrobe or towards an international development agency. The purchase of goods which leverage development funds, or alternatively, as in many of the cases explored within the research, through their practice aid development causes, can be reconstituted as sites of moral engagement. This ‘hollowing out of civil society’, described by Banks and Hulme (2014) may have wide ranging effects on the development industry. The consumption of development products reinterprets collection action as individual consumption, which targets ‘worthy’ recipients, and according the Richey and Ponte (2014) elevates the role of the consumer to that of ‘hero’. Marketing messaging revealed in the research points to an emphasised role for the consumer, with many directly stressing the power held by the consumer in their purchasing. The ethical need to engage in collective citizenship is simply reduced to the role of ‘ethical’ consumer. This is particularly relevant in light of research which appraises the eternal ‘fickleness’ of the consumer (Shaw *et al.*, 2006). Or as Low and Davenport illustrate, the socially responsible persona of the consumer is ‘one of the many personas that a consumer can inhabit at a given time within a certain space’ (2007, p. 342). Rather than simply a form of responsible consumption, the ‘fashion for development’ consumer becomes an agent of development and the act of global care is diminished to the act of purchase. As international development agencies increasingly look to private forms of funding, and to the ‘aid for trade’ agenda, this has wide reaching implications.

This finding confirms the initial research by Lamrad and Hanlon, who suggest such results support a ‘perpetuation of discourses of power and privilege’ (2014, p. 602). The consumption

of development products enables consumers to purchase ‘guilt-free’. They can sate their desire for more, whilst dually benefiting a distant Other. As Spangenberg *et al.* (2010) describe, the symbolic function of objects can arise from ‘mutuality-based or altruistic social relations or the public goods provided by the environment.’ (Spangenberg *et al.*, 2010, p. 1488) They argue that within the consumer society, identity is mediated by through the purchase or ‘command’ of consumer good, making the design and marketing the principal mediators of sustainability to consumers. Exploring the results collated from this research project, i.e. the ways in which ‘fashion for development’ products are marketed to consumers from online retail platforms, enables a deeper discussion of how valuable or helpful responsible fashion products within ‘fashion for development’ are.

In many e-commerce platforms reviewed the lexicon of preference was that of the development/aid community. Garment workers and artisans were often referred to as ‘beneficiaries’ rather than more industry specific terms related to job titles, i.e. pattern cutter, garment technician, weaving operative, or even designer. Workers are denied acknowledgement of their professional roles. The result could be conflated to marketing ‘gloss’; simply a supplemental method of petitioning the consumer to engage and purchase from ‘fashion for development’ brands. However, the result could also suggest a simplification of discourse surrounding garment production, and a continuance of negative associations to development aid. The route (fashion manufacture) and the methods (marketing) may have changed, but perhaps ‘fashion for development’ initiatives continue to represent articulations of aid and dependency. This is further supported by the finding which demonstrated several ‘charitable’ profiles of ‘beneficiaries’ on e-commerce platforms. Garment workers on three online platforms analysed were given beneficiary ‘profiles’; where a photograph, short biography and often explicit details of their destitute state are presented. This is not to mention the ethical issues surrounding depicting garment workers in this manner, where the ‘voice’ of workers is mediated or recapitulated by corporate bodies. This mirrors many sponsorship profiles displayed on prominent international development charities websites. Additionally, it is pertinent to consider the implications of the integration of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives into the CSR activities of high-street or luxury brands. As discussed, these initiatives perform as powerful constructions of ethical and social intent for the consumer, however, this may serve the same purpose for brands. ‘Fashion for development’ initiatives create intoxicating narratives which may act to obscure sourcing practices. The production of artisanal accessories or fashion garments by marginalised women is a photogenic activity, engaging in such initiatives may act as a powerful method of generating positive PR coverage. Consumers may be motivated to purchase goods differentiated because they offer the opportunity to help ‘poor people’, but does not diametrically change their ability to purchase cheap clothes. In addition, results reveal a simplification of development causes, highly charged socio-political histories are reduced to slick marketing imagery. Smiling faces and colourful fabrics become the representation of development, the initiative the salve, and the consumer the doctor. Systemic issues concerned with poverty, colonialism and neoliberalism are depoliticised, and reproduced as convenient product, or as Brooks notes a ‘slack’ way of doing good (2015). Whereas, current development discourse discusses ‘paving the way towards greater awareness that development is a shared responsibility’ (van Ufford and Giri, 2003, p. xi).

However, it is also relevant to discuss how the current research uncovered several findings which differ from the current body of research. As previously iterated, the initial three case study presented by Lamrad and Hanlon (2014) suggested that ‘fashion for development’ initiatives exclusively supported the deterritorialization of culture and the perpetuation of destructive narratives related to development. However, the wider analysis carried out in this

research project suggests that professional stakeholders operate under more pragmatic conditions. The intent, demonstrated through interviews conducted, is primarily to provide sustainable employment, and in addition to capitalize on the business case for operating in Sub-Saharan African. Furthermore, the desktop research completed demonstrated that six e-commerce platforms (6/15) reviewed utilized more nuanced and considered language, emphasizing shared co-operation, value addition and economic opportunity. The six e-commerce platforms engaged several Southern suppliers. However, the research project reveals that the majority of e-commerce platforms utilised ill advised, and in some cases, immature language to articulate notions of development. Relevant guidance regarding the presentation of discourse on e-commerce platforms could make a profound difference to understandings of development enacted by ‘fashion for development’ brands.

5.5. Practical Applications

The results of this research have several valuable practical implications. Firstly, the research establishes a case for ‘fashion for development,’ locating diverse theoretical papers, specific governmental reports, recent academic scholarship. Thus, arguing the tangible value of utilising ‘fashion for development’ as a methodology to alleviate poverty or tackle development issues. Additionally, the research demonstrates the high perceived value of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, and their appearance in a variety of sources, particularly within the NGO community. Coupled with DFID’s desire to engage in ‘trade-based’ poverty solutions, it could be surmised that incidences of ‘fashion for development’ will increase. The discourse presented by the professional stakeholders interviewed is nuanced, and suggests a hopeful future for the continued or expanded use of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives within the professional community.

However, in light of the research results derived from the desktop research, it is strongly recommended that NGOs, charitable bodies, governmental agencies, and commercial fashion brands make a comprehensive appraisal of corporate communications. The online discourse presented on the e-commerce platforms was unhelpful. The research broadly echoes that of Lamrad and Hanlon (2014), who suggested the online narratives of ‘fashion for development’ brands perpetuated disabling, and often neo-colonial, expressions of power. The current research results suggest that a high proportion of brands have situated themselves as the ‘heroes’ of development, whereas in many cases, they promote outdated and stifling perceptions of development. In the future, careful assessment is needed prior to the launch of any e-commerce platform. Consultation within the literature presented within this thesis, or indeed amongst the findings would be an appropriate rendering. These results are particularly pertinent for governmental agencies or NGOs who wish to be considered a source of ‘best practice’ in terms of development. It is not enough to render the case for ‘fashion for development’ amongst positive methodical literature, such as Soule *et al.*’s (2017) report *A Social Enterprise Link in a Global Value Chain*. Careful appraisal must be made of the nuances of online discourses. In addition, the current research adds to the body of knowledge surrounding ‘fashion for development’ initiatives by reporting that online discourse do not exclusively support the ‘deterritorialization of culture’, nor the perpetuation of neo-colonial discourses (Lamrad and Hanlon, 2014, p. 603). In fact, the current study revealed several successful incidences of ‘fashion for development’ reporting, these cases could form effective rubrics for future brands.

5.8. Recommendations for Future Work

Several recommendations for future work appeared as a result of this thesis. It would be prudent to extend the scope of this thesis once more, and examine the explicit connections between e-commerce brand platforms and the brands themselves. This would allow the researcher to explore how the intent of brands is interpreted within their corporate communications. Alternatively, it would be useful to investigate the absent voice from this thesis, that of the garment worker or artisan being ‘developed’. A prudent examination of how voice is potentially cannibalised by corporate communications would be profitable, and would have large ranging effects on both the marketing of fashion products, but additionally within the ethical fashion community. It would also be profitable to complete several small case studies, like that of Soule *et al.* (2017), amongst the professional stakeholders interviewed. It would be advantageous to collect several methodologies for the successful enactment of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives. These would be completed in the field.

Finally, a natural progression of this work would be to analyse the socio-political or ethical/altruistic intent of consumers purchasing ‘fashion for development’ products. ‘Fashion for development’ products aimed at ethically motivated consumers has yet to be appropriately examined. A relevant avenue for future study would be to discerning how consumers contextually understand development issues, and their connections to garment manufacture. This may have valuable repercussions to the development community and ethical fashion field alike.

5.7. Limitations

Several important limitations of the current study need to be considered. First, a major constraint of this study was the low response rate of professional stakeholders interviewed. Generalisability of results can cautiously be applied; however, any further study would benefit from a larger cohort of interviewees to enable stronger comparisons between types of stakeholder. However, the small number of interviewees did allow for a deeper analysis of the intent and methodologies currently in practice. In addition, results may have been furthered by interviewing more professional stakeholders operating e-commerce brands directly.

5.8. Conclusion

To conclude, it is conceivable that ‘fashion for development’ initiatives may positively contribute to international development, as revealed through the constructive and nuanced discourse amongst professional stakeholders interviewed. Consultation of development professionals, trade facilitators, and socially motivated garment manufacturers established a profitable dialogue disclosing the intent of current practitioners. Several methods described by interviewees efficaciously service the ‘capability approach’ to development, assisting the autonomy of garment worker. A number of beneficiaries employed by the interviewees are furnished with the capacity to engage in commercial activity beyond that of the original agent. The discourse supplied by interviewees appeared as a nuanced and receptive response to development intervention, with the intent to sustain long-term self-sustaining initiatives. The discussion portion of this thesis has explored; the tangential arguments surrounding aid, dependency and agency reported. Particular attention has been paid to assessing ‘freedoms’, i.e. appraising development value, and the discrepancies in development funding. The following section dealt with the methodologies employed by several professional stakeholders to enact ‘development’, principally concerned with the future possibilities presented by interviewees, the value of waged work, and barriers to increased impact. The final section of the discussion

explored the marketing of ‘fashion for development’ products. The following chapter makes a summative statement regarding the research project.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

The introduction of this thesis established the merit of further investigation regarding the use of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, particularly regarding how it is being employed by professional stakeholders and e-commerce brands within both the fashion and development industry. The gap within current literature was briefly covered. As previously discussed within Chapter 2, several preliminary studies have instigated critical thought related to both the merits and or implications of fashion manufacture as a valuable source of industrial growth, or as a method of community development facilitated through craft production. Lamrad and Hanlon’s *Untangling Fashion for Development* (2014), is the lone study explicitly addressing the value of consuming fashion garments leveraged for development purposes. However, research which investigates the emergence of socially motivated fashion enterprises is scarce, and often uncritical in its reporting, see (Mukherji and Jain, 2009; Gardetti and Muthu, 2015). A narrow focus on singular case studies has created a myopic focus on individual incidences of the interrelation between fashion manufacture and international development, and as yet larger conclusions cannot be drawn. Opacity in the type or nature of development activities by fashion enterprises produces confusion over their merit, efficacy, and results. Further examination was needed. To successfully address the intention and efficacy within current practice within fashion manufacture and international development, the following research objectives were instituted:

- To establish the current state of international development
- To map theory related to ‘fashion for development’ through a thorough literature review
- To establish contemporary perspectives of fashion for development (methods in practice)
- To provide robust criticism and evaluation of current methods of ‘fashion for development’
- To provide commentary towards future research or methods of ‘fashion for development’.

The literature review navigated a range of topics germane to the research project. A thorough understanding of prior studies concerned with the intentional utilisation of fashion manufacturing practices within international development methodologies was provided, setting the research in context within the wider trajectory of the development agenda. However, as a key aim of the research project was to establish the current state of international development, and to provide robust criticism and evaluation of current methods of ‘fashion for development’, further texts were needed. Therefore, several seminal texts addressing to development theory were examined, both to establish the current place fashion manufacture holds within development practice, and to better contextualise the results of the research project. This facilitated a deeper examination of the potential repercussions the emerging ‘fashion for development’ discourse, as more profound theory related to the nature or morality of development surfaced. Attention was paid to notions of colonialism, paternalism and neo-colonialism are interpreted within literature concerned with international development, particularly within Fair Trade and Design for Development. An assessment was made of current thinking concerned with ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, in reference to pro-poor market-based approaches to development. The lack of fashion-specific literature in this area has established the need for further study. It was surmised that there was considerable value in further contextualising ‘fashion for development’ initiatives amongst current practice of international development. Further research was needed to address this gap.

The research design and methodology provided transparency to the research process, establishing the veracity and reliability of the subsequent findings and analysis. The theoretical lens through which the research was conducted was explained and laid out the three methods of data collection utilised. A brief explanation of the data coding and analysis process was also provided. Following an initial mapping relying on desktop research, the research was furthered by undertaking seven interviews in the Spring of 2017 with leading policy professionals, development charities, trade facilitators, socially motivated garment manufactures, and several 'sole practitioners' operating SMEs in sub-Saharan Africa. Key findings elucidated an estrangement between professional practice with fashion manufacture, and online discourses marketing 'fashion for development' products.

The ensuing chapter presented the research findings. The results were presented in three sections; depiction of organisational structures found across both e-commerce brands, and professional stakeholders interviewed, an examination of the themes discussed by professional stakeholders, and an analysis of the content displayed on e-commerce sites. Reporting on the varieties and vagaries of organisational structures presented an amalgamation of results of both the desktop research and interviewees conducted. The nuances of defining and categorising socially motivated businesses were addressed. The organisational structures utilised to both generate development impact, and funds through which to complete such actions were presented. Several illustrations were generated to represent the complexities of actors, both commercial and charitable, engaging with fashion manufacture as a tool for international development. This included; the utilisation of charitable/commercial hybrids, social enterprises, and CSR integration. Data on the differences between supplier and subsidiary models was additionally included.

Section 2 of the Findings has reported the views of the professional stakeholders interviewed, demonstrating contemporary perspectives of 'fashion for development'. The two core benefits discussed by interviewees were the provision of employment and the potential to engage in capacity building activities. It could be surmised that there was a duality within the responses, seeking to balance commercial activity alongside addressing development needs of staff. Generally, the views provided by professional stakeholders appeared to view fashion manufacture, particularly on the African continent, as a pragmatic business choice. Centring development value around commercial activity appears to reveal the intent of the research participants to foster sustainable initiatives. The concept of sustainability, as presented within the findings, manifests as a desire to engage in charitable or capacity building initiatives in the short-term, to effectively foster long-term solutions. This was particularly evident in both the 'exit-plans' presented by several stakeholders, and the business training additionally provided. Several methodologies were employed by interviewees to ensure development needs were addressed, such as; appropriate pricing of goods, leveraging duty-free trade options, and taking advantage of steady-state garment production (SSGP). A central element of negotiating development benefits appeared to be fostered through ensuring knowledge of 'cause and effect' of buying decisions upon suppliers. Several professional actors (TFB, PMIA, Traidcraft) act to ameliorate these differences through trade facilitation. A number of challenges were identified by interviewees, such as; lack of appropriate skills, access to raw materials and/or a prohibitive trading environment. The following section explored how intent was displayed on the e-commerce platforms of 'fashion for development' initiatives. A range of results concerned with the marketing and promotion of goods produced by 'fashion for development' initiatives have been assessed. These comprised of; Empowerment and Development Discourse, the consumer as a development agent, the selling of 'imagined' Africa, depictions of the handmade and the

natural, paternalism and design, and notions of co-design. The results differ slightly from those initially presented by Lamrad and Hanlon (2014), suggesting that good and bad practices exist within the online discourses of ‘fashion for the development’ initiatives. The implications of these findings will be presented in the ensuing discussion.

The discussion portion of the thesis presented the possibility that ‘fashion for development’ initiatives may positively contribute to international development, as revealed through the constructive and nuanced discourse amongst professional stakeholders interviewed. Consultation of development professionals, trade facilitators, and socially motivated garment manufacturers established a profitable dialogue disclosing the intent of current practitioners. Several methods described by interviewees efficaciously service the ‘capability approach’ to development, assisting the autonomy of garment worker. A number of beneficiaries employed by the interviewees are furnished with the capacity to engage in commercial activity beyond that of the original agent. The discourse supplied by interviewees appeared to nuanced and receptive response to development intervention, with the intent to sustain long-term self-sustaining initiatives. The discussion portion of this thesis has explored; the tangential arguments surround aid, dependency and agency reported. Particular attention has been paid to assessing ‘freedoms’, i.e. appraising development value, and the discrepancies in development funding. The following section dealt with the methodologies employed by several professional stakeholders to enact ‘development’, principally concerned with the future possibilities presented by interviewees, the value of waged work, and barriers to increased impact. The final section of the discussion explored the marketing of ‘fashion for development’ products.

To conclude, there is considerable merit in further investigating the use of ‘fashion for development’ initiatives, particularly regarding how it is being employed by professional stakeholders and e-commerce brands within both the fashion and development industry. Principally performed through interviews of professional stakeholders, and an analysis of e-commerce platforms, the research provides a meritorious contribution to how ‘fashion for development’ schemes are utilised. It is hoped that the current study will be of assistance to development professionals, NGOs, and fashion manufacturers negotiating utilising ‘fashion for development’ schemes.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. 1.

Summary of Professional Actors Interviewed:

Imani Ode*: CEO of Ghanaian Manufacturer C (GMC), a garment manufacturer in Accra, Ghana. GMC is a client of TFB.

Vicki Brennan: Director of Proudly Made in Africa. Brennan has a background in ethical trade and human rights, formerly Head of Brand Outreach at the Bangladesh Accord Foundation. Proudly Made in Africa is an NGO which facilitates the ethical trade of ‘value-added’ products sourced on the African continent.

Fiona Gooch: Senior Policy Advisor at Traidcraft, a UK based Fair Trade organisation. Traidcraft operates as both a non-profit development organisation, and as a separate commercial entity, which retails Fair Trade goods.

Heather Smith*: CEO of Kenyan Manufacturer A (KMA), a socially motivated garment manufacturer in Kenya, headquartered in London.

Lousie Grant: CEO of Malwian Manufacturer B (MMB), which operates as both a non-profit development organisation delivering capacity building activities in Malawi and an e-commerce retailer of ethical garments produced by MMB. Headquartered in London.

Louise Sharp*: Co-founder and CEO of Trade Facilitator B, holds over 20 years of experience in sourcing, merchandising and retail operations. TFB offers ‘end-to-end sourcing and production management support including product development, raw material/trims sourcing, quality control, and logistics facilitation’ (2017). The delivery of living wages, worker empowerment, alongside cost competitive garment manufacturing services, is key to the offering of TFB.

Onyekachi Wambu: Director of Engagement and Policy at AFFORD Africa. AFFORD Africa describes itself as bringing ‘together a series of programmes, grants and services aimed at promoting, stimulating and harnessing diaspora investment opportunities for jobs and wealth creation.’ (AFFORD Africa, 2014)

*Names have been altered to provide anonymity for research participants. Pseudonyms were utilised to increase readability.

Appendix A. 2.

Summary of E-Commerce Brands Analysed:

The following report provides concise summaries of all eighteen ecommerce sites examined, which constitutes the desktop research performed as part of data collection.

Not-for-Profit Sample

Krochet Kids Ltd. – Not for Profit: operates from HQ in Costa Mesa, CA and manufactures in both Peru and Uganda. Employs 252 people.

Sseko Sandals. – Social Enterprise: Operates from HQ in Portland, OR and manufactures in Uganda.

Krochet Kids Ltd. and Sseko Ltd. both cater to predominately American markets to young, socially motivated consumers. Retail products are aimed towards a Millennial or Gen-Z audience, both brands appear to promote active lifestyles to young consumers at a mid-level price point (£20 ~ £70). From crocheted Beanies, synonymous with skateboarding and surfing culture, to sandals photographed on hiking paths, these brands implicitly promote a ‘wholesome’ feel-good aesthetic to young socially motivated consumers.

Both businesses function as social enterprises, and engage in capacity building with agents in sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America (Krochet Kids exclusively) to fulfil both the social aims of the organisation and to manufacture the retail products. Krochet Kids and Sseko are both registered ‘not-for-profits’ in the USA, however Sseko describes itself as a social enterprise. There appears to be a blurring of understanding, particularly within the USA, of what constitutes a social enterprise (REF).

Fashion Manufacturer Sample

SOKO KENYA – For Profit Business: Operates from HQ in London, UK and manufactures in Voi, Kenya. Additionally, runs a charity named SOKO Community Trust which delivers capacity building skills training in garment construction and business education. SOKO Community Trust also delivers health initiatives to local community.

SOKO Kenya is a EPZ housed in an eco-factory in Rukinga Wildlife Sanctuary in Voi, Kenya. SOKO Kenya describes itself as providing ‘Ethical. Green. Sustainable Livelihoods.’ (SOKO Kenya, 2017a). The EPZ employs between 150-300 garment workers, and produces CMT services to apparel retailers looking for ethically made products. Clients are predominantly UK based, with two clients based in Nairobi and Dar al Salaam respectively, who export to US markets.

The ethical and environmental goals of SOKO Kenya are clearly expressed within their website, displaying their desire to implement development change and poverty alleviation through ‘employment not charity’ (SOKO Kenya, 2017a). SOKO Kenya was founded by Joanna Maiden in 2009, with a desire to satisfy the needs of the fashion industry with a “manufacturing unit with social and environmental issues at the heart of its business.”(SOKO Kenya, 2017a)

Ethical Retailer Sample

People Tree – Private Limited Company: Operates from HQ in London, UK and manufactures in partnership with co-operatives and fair trade factories across India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Kenya. Employs between 51-200 people, exclusive of co-operative partners. Annual revenue \$11.92 million. Produces mid-market women's clothing for Western/ Occidental markets. Markets as a socially responsible women's lifestyle brand committed to ethical fashion produced under Fair Trade conditions. Holds accreditations from the Fairtrade Foundation, WFTO, Soil Association and GOTS Certified Cotton. People Tree clothing is stocked by a number of fair trade retailers, within a small flagship store in London, but majority of sales are completed through ecommerce website. People Tree describes the purpose of their business operations to "support producer partners' efforts towards economic independence and control over their local environment and community (People Tree, 2017a).

Mayamiko – Private Limited Company: Operates from HQ in London, UK and manufactures in Malawi. Additionally, runs a charity named Mayamiko Trust, which facilitates capacity building in Malawi to provide capacity building in garment manufacture and business skills in addition to 'education, nutrition and sanitation' (Mayamiko, 2017).

Mayamiko markets to a similar market segment to People Tree: mid-market women's clothing for Western/ Occidental markets, promoting a socially responsible women's lifestyle brand committed to ethical fashion produced under Fair Trade conditions. Mayamiko describe themselves as a luxury brand.

Mayamiko sells its products exclusively from their ecommerce store. They operate under fair trade practices but holds no official certifications. It is affiliated with WITEE (Women in Training and Economic Development, Malawi). Mayamiko encapsulates the purpose of their business operations as: "not to compensate for what they lack through aid, but encourage and nurture what they already have: a wealth of creative talents and a willingness to learn. All they need is the opportunity to develop." (Mayamiko Trust, 2017)

ABURY – Private Limited Company: Operates from HQ in Berlin, Germany and manufactures in Ecuador, India, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Morocco, Peru, Romania and Tanzania. Holds B-Corp Certification. Additionally, operates a charity named ABURY Trust, which is endorsed by UNESCO.

ABURY sells its products exclusively from its ecommerce store. ABURY, like the above named ethical retailers targets socially motivated and globally aware consumer with mid-level luxury products produced by artisans. ABURY places a strong emphasis on place and the travel aesthetic within their marketing. ABURY seeks to operate in a 'climate of transparency' and are committed to 'leaving the world a little better... to pay fair salaries is a start, but not enough' (ABURY, 2017a). The ABURY trust provides primary school education, female empowerment and community development in producer villages.

EDUN – Private Limited Company: Operates from HQ in New York City, USA and manufactures in Madagascar, Kenya and the USA. EDUN produces in partnership with the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative.

EDUN was founded by Bono and his wife, Ali Hewson to facilitate "long-term, sustainable growth opportunities by supporting manufacturers, community-based initiatives and partnering with African artists and artisan" (EDUN, 2017b). This page has been recently updated to

include, in part “its mission to source production and encourage trade in Africa” (EDUN, 2017a).

EDUN also sells through its ecommerce store, and online consignments on luxury retailers ecommerce platforms such as Matches Fashion. EDUN is a high-end luxury womenswear brand, showcasing four collections per year Fall Ready-to-Wear, Pre-Fall, Spring Ready-to-Wear and Resort.

Sole Practitioners Sample

Ace and Jig – Private Limited Company: Operates from HQ in Brooklyn, NYC and Portland, OR, manufactures in India. Ace and Jig primarily retails high-end luxury woven products, which are sold through their ecommerce site and stocked as luxury consignments in stores such as Liberty of London and United Arrows of Japan. A brand with a strong focus on textiles, which are woven by ‘experienced textile specialists weaving on ancient looms’ (2017) and describe sustainability as the ‘cornerstone’ of their brand (Corcoran Harel, 2017).

Ace and Jig describe a business run with Kaizen philosophies, the values of fair trade, and the guiding influence and desire to primarily create beautiful textiles to be worn on the body. Garments are woven and manufactured in India in collaboration with Indian artisans. Ace and Jig holds a ‘cult’ like status amongst customers, with a range of social media fan accounts, and self-run swap parties for the exchange of Ace and Jig merchandise.

Brother Vellies – Private Limited Company: Operates from HQ in Brooklyn, NYC, and manufactures in South Africa, Ethiopia, Kenya and Morocco. Brother Vellies produces in partnership with UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative. Brother Vellies is a luxury accessories label producing hand bags and shoes, with the purpose of ‘creating sustainable artisanal jobs’ (2017a). Products produced by Brother Vellies have roots in the style and tradition of shoes typical of the continent, but expressed with a modern aesthetic.

Brother Vellies, of recent, has received large amounts of high-profile press coverage from personalities, such as Instagram’s Eva Chen, and Beyoncé.

Kahma – Social Enterprise: Operates from HQ in London, UK and manufactures in Malawi. Kahma is operated as a co-operative, garment manufacturers employed by Kahma hold shares in the business. Kahma is affiliated with Micro Enterprise Africa. It is a relatively small operation, employing ten full time staff. The workshop in Malawi is run by Kahma, and additionally provides tailoring training.

Kahma operates under a fair-trade model, however, has no official Fair Trade accreditation. The business produces garments aimed at mid-market socially conscious female consumers, and is fabricated from locally sourced textiles.

Della – Private Limited Company: Operates from HQ in Los Angeles, CA and manufactures in Ghana. Della targets a young female consumer and has a low entry price point, Della has previously sold through Urban Outfitters and TOMs. Della additionally engages in capacity building activities in Ghana, providing education and garment manufacturing skills training. However, as part of business operations for Della, they openly reject such a notion: ‘We believe in responsibility, not charity’ (Della, 2017b). Della employs fifty-five staff altogether, thirty-five of which are full-time.

Della is advertised as part of URBN, parent company of Urban Outfitters and Anthropologie, as a key component of their CSR activity.

Luxury Markets Sample

Vivienne Westwood – Private Limited Company: Operates from HQ in London, UK and manufactures globally, however for the purposes of this thesis operations in Nairobi, Kenya will be examined. Vivienne Westwood's 'Artisan Fashion' works in collaboration with the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative and Artisan.Fashion, a social enterprise in Kenya created because of continued revenue brought by collaboration with the UN ITC EFI.

Vivienne Westwood produces women's luxury lifestyle garments, with an arguably politically charged, disruptive and irreverent fashion garments. No exact information is available on the Vivienne Westwood website regarding their collaboration with the UN ITC EFI, however, four seasons of impact reports are available on the Ethical Fashion Initiative web platform.

Stella McCartney – Private Limited Company: Operates with HQ in London, UK and manufactures globally (focus on Italy as manufacturing source), however of the purposes of this thesis operation in Nairobi, Kenya are examined. Stella McCartney also works in collaboration with the UN ITC Ethical Fashion Initiative.

Stella McCartney is a luxury goods and clothing retailer, manufacturing products with a strong sustainability focus. Stella McCartney is a vegetarian business and publishes an 'Environmental Profit and Loss Account', a landmark document illustrating the environmental impact of the corporation's business activity; incl. carbon footprint etc. Stella McCartney describes itself as a business 'building responsibility into the core', desiring to 'respect the planet as well as the people and animals on it' (Stella McCartney, 2017b). The business does not report on the social impact of its supply chain, however, an impact report of the collaboration with the Ethical Fashion Initiative is alternatively available on the UN ITC website.

Retailer CSR Sample

Several high-street fashion retailers engage in explicitly named 'fashion for development' activities, outside of typical garment sourcing routes. Such schemes are named within the CSR activities of retailers.

ASOS Made in Kenya - Private Limited Company: Operates with HQ in London, UK, and utilises aforementioned SOKO Kenya as manufacturer. ASOS Made in Kenya takes a prominent role in descriptions of ASOS's CSR activities, and forms key part of ASOS's 'ECO-Edit' which describes 'developing fair trade and alleviating poverty' as essential activities of brands showcased (ASOS, 2017b). ASOS is a highly popular ecommerce retailer of fast-fashion in the United Kingdom.

LK Bennett KOSAVO – Private Limited Company: Operates with HQ in London, UK and operates CSR activities in collaboration with Women for Women International in Kosovo. LK Bennett is a mid-level high-street brand retailing luxury women's workwear and occasion dresses.

LK Bennett is currently working with Women for Women International to produce embroidered hearts for application on a capsule collection of leather ballet flats for Spring/Summer 2017.

Appendix B.1.

Interview Schedule

1. What is your conceptualisation of fashion manufacture acting as an agent within development?
2. Awareness of foreign investment? (Asian Investment and Impact)
3. What qualifies fashion to engage in development practices?
4. What is the premiere development priority?
 - a. What must be in place for this to happen?
5. Awareness of current practice?
6. Would you consider yourself an actor within development?
7. Opinion of brands leveraging development as a marketable characteristic?
8. Fashion in comparison to other industries?
9. Compared to other forms of International Development?
10. Could you explain your current practice?
11. What are your funding streams?
12. Do you have an exit-plan?
13. What are the major barriers to continued impact?
14. What is the value within this sphere?
15. Where does future opportunity lie?
16. Potential pitfalls and dangers?

Appendix B.2.

Copy of Plain Language Statement



Plain Language Statement

I am Julia Black, a MSc by Research student of Heriot Watt University in the School of Textiles and Design, in Scotland.

I am doing research regarding fashion manufacture as a potential tool for international development.

I would like to invite you to take part in this research work by face to face interview. The research will be an interview for approximately 30/45 minutes.

The interviews will be digitally recorded, and I may take notes and photographs (with your permission). This research has received ethics approval.

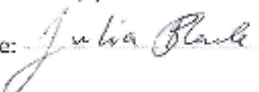
Participants' information is confidential and will anonymise all of your answers, unless you wish to be recognised and it is appropriate. You have the right to withdraw without giving a reason and prior to the publication of the research regarding fashion for development in September 2017.

Contact for further information:

Researcher: Julia Katherine Black

jkb1@hw.ac.uk or juliakblack@gmail.com

+44 (0)741513490

Signature: 

Date: 28/03/17

Supervisor: Dr Sue Thomas

sue.thomas@hw.ac.uk

Signature: 

Date: 28.03.2017

School of Textiles – Heriot Watt University 28.03.2017

Appendix B.2.

Consent Forms

A number of 'Informed Consent Forms' have not been published within this thesis due to wishes of research participants.

Onyekachi Wambu consented to interview on 25 May 2017. Please contact the researcher if you require a copy of this form.

Fiona Gooch consented to interview on Thursday, 29 June 2017. The research holds a private recording of this interview, in which Gooch consents to the research at 02:43.

Heather Smith* consented to interview on Wednesday, 21 June 2017. The research holds a private recording of this interview, in which Smith consents to the research at 01:13.

Please contact the researcher for these audio recordings, if needed.

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